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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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LETTERS should be addressed to OLIVER JOHNSON, *Editor of The Anti-Slavery Standard*, 48 Beekman-st., New York.

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Selections.

HENRY WARD BEECHER AT HOME.

[An immense audience assembled at the Academy of Music, Brooklyn, on Thursday evening, Nov. 19, to welcome and hear the Rev. HENRY WARD BEECHER. The meeting was under the auspices of the War Fund Committee, and the entire proceeds were devoted to the Sanitary Commission. Rev. Dr. Storrs made an eloquent address of welcome to Mr. Beecher, who, on his appearance, was most enthusiastically greeted. When quiet was restored, Mr. Beecher spoke as follows:]

MR. BEECHER'S ADDRESS.

I WILL not attempt to disguise the deep feeling with which your generous kindness, expressed in the words of my brother, affects me. I am more touched and more stirred by this sympathy than by all that I have seen and by all that I have experienced in the whole of my travels abroad; and I speak the simple truth, which has the witness in your hearts, that it is here in this city, more than anywhere else, that I desire to be so greeted. For as, when in England, it was my pride to be an American, so when I am in America, it is my pride to be a citizen of Brooklyn; and I accept your generous confidence, and this affecting testimony of it, in so far as it relates to me personally, with profound sensibility and with deep gratitude. I thank you; and yet I should be vain if I supposed that this was meant for me in my simple individuality. I am myself the effect of American institutions; I am made by them, and if I have done any service to the public worthy of your regard, I owe to this very public, and the institutions which enrich it, the power to do it any service. And I am glad that it is so—so deep are my feelings of patriotism, so profoundly am I impressed with the grandeur of this latest and ripest development of civil life, that I am more than willing to be sunk myself if my decadence and disappearance could add anything to the glory of my country. I would fain be as the oil in the lamp that gives its life, that the light may be bright which consumes it. And that which is my feeling is your feeling, and I know I bear your sympathy with me in this simple and artless expression of my feelings to-night. I am glad that you asked me to be present; and I am proud that it shall go abroad that when I came back to America, having witnessed as I could in Europe for the truth of our cause, the first place to greet me was my own home, where I am best known. It is, indeed, a wreath which I shall wear none the less because it is invisible. I went abroad, as you know, simply as a private citizen. It was tauntingly asked me, on my arrival in England, why, in the very height and paroxysm of our national agony, I abandoned the field to go abroad. I did not answer, but I now do answer. I foresaw that the Autumn and the Winter would require labors even greater than any period previous, and the excitement and the excessive labors of the two and a half years, or three years preceding, had not destroyed my health nor destroyed my constitution; but certainly I was jaded, and I feared to go into the labor of the Autumn and Winter, which required the best powers of every man, without my full strength; and since I could do nothing in the Summer, I took that oppportunity, upon the generous invitation of my own people, to go abroad and rest, that I might come back to labor more assiduously. Allow me to say that this generosity of my own dear people was a comfort to me everywhere, and that in Great Britain—not because I disesteemed their kindness or undervalued their hospitality, but because it was something that I cherished with a secret pride—I refused to receive their hospitality or, in the remotest degree, compensation in any form. I said to them, my own people sent me abroad, and it is their pleasure that I shall stand upon them for support, and I will not take one penny from the hand of an Englishman (applause). You will not misunderstand me; it was not because I disdained their kindness, but because I valued yours. It was also said that I had come abroad sent by our government. That would have spoiled it all. I had no official character, and would not have had one. I went simply as a private citizen, and I was there merely and only as an American citizen. And when, unsought, and, indeed, against my feelings, if not against my judgment, I entered upon the labor of the past weeks of my sojourn in England, I assumed the responsibility, I cannot say with trembling, for I am not accustomed much to tremble; but I assumed the responsibility with the gravest sense of what it was. I have felt the inspiration of nationality often, but I never before was placed between two such great people, where I saw them both in perspective, both in their present relations and in their future. I never before felt so much as I felt all the time, waking or dreaming, night or day, what it was to stand and plead for the unity of these two great nations, for the sake of struggling mankind; and it was at once an excitement to me and a support. But, after all, I did not know how my countrymen would regard my efforts. If you had disapproved, I should have been sorry that you disapproved, but not sorry what I had done. I did the best I knew how to do, every time, everywhere disinterestedly, for the love I bear to the cause and to the principles which underlie it, and I had no word, could not have, from home whether my representations of policy, and of fact, and of history, and of the tendencies of things, would accord with yours, or whether I should not be caught up in the whirl of conflicting parties, my reasonings traversed, my arguments denied—nor till I landed in Boston did I hear one whisper—and then I learned for the first time that my services had been accepted by my countrymen (applause). But to-night I meet you, a citizen returned among his friends, profoundly thankful that the labor and the service which I attempted for the public good have the seal of their approbation. It is my purpose not to trespass any further upon your time in matters that are personal to myself. I know that you will not think me vain for what I have said, and I desire now this evening to speak upon that which you all have come to hear—namely, my impressions and experiences in respect to the condition of things in Great Britain, as they relate to this struggle and this country. Among the wise things said by that wisest of modern political writers, De Tocqueville, is this: "That it is impossible to judge of the affairs of one country by applying to them the experiences and the rules of another one." There are many reasons why one would have presumed beforehand that it was easy to understand British feeling and British policy. There was a similarity of institutions and a sameness of radical principles; but that very similarity, since it begets, by different institutions and different vehicles, different policies in the end, is liable to deceive us, and we are liable to come to many conclusions, because, upon the face, things look like those to which we are accustomed at home. I myself have experienced that, for if I had judged of the condition of England from the impressions produced upon me by my first four weeks tarry there in the Summer, I should have judged very wrongly, as judged by my present convictions. Nor do I feel myself now adequate to analyze or state either the causes or the results of my feeling; I am quite aware that I am imperfect in my views in many directions. Nor can I presume to say that I present you opinions. My nature gives intensity to my expressions, and yet I wish beforehand to ask you to consider that the statements that I make are impressions liable to mistake, subject to corrections that may afterwards be made in them. And with these preliminary remarks I will tell you what I saw and found. You are aware that the original expression of our people was almost universal that in Great Britain we should find a sympathizer, ready and prepared. One thing we counted sure, and that was, that if all the other nations stood aloof, there was one that would stand by us in the hour of our peril, and that was Great Britain. And the sharpness of our retaliatory complaints was stimulated by that very disappointment of a very confident conviction. When I was asked in Great Britain why the American press so severely inveighed against England, and was almost silent in respect to France, I said: "Because we in our deepest hearts care for England, and not much for France" (applause). "Because under anger, and lower down than prejudice, when you strike the deeper feelings, the Americans know that they have an English origin, and they are proud of their history—when it gets back further than the present generation (laughter); and it was this growing affection and sympathy in the best natures and in the best parts of the best natures—it was this that made the disappointment of public expectation so sharp and so hard to be borne when Great Britain foiled our expectations and gave us no sympathy. We never asked for help. We never asked that she should lend us anything or stretch out so much as the little finger of her right hand. We did ask simply her generous confidence and generous moral sympathy, and that was all, and that we did not get, and we felt sharply the conduct of England. The expression of public feeling had an effect of throwing her moral weight against the North and for the South." So I told them. I carefully discriminated between the intention and the result. What men intend has much to do with judging of their moral character; but what men do does not depend always on their intention. And when, therefore, the British people disclaimed sympathy with the South, or a disposition to go against their own principles as represented by the North, I said to them, "What your intentions are you can best judge, but what the effect of your attitude is we on the other side can best judge, and we know that the moral influence of Great Britain has substantially gone for more than two years to help the rebellion of the slavocracy of the South, and to hinder the progress of free institutions in the North." And if there is rescue or relief—if there is redemption finally, Great Britain must stand aside, and it must be said: "The nation that boasted of her free institutions and her sovereign sympathy with the welfare of the common people has had no part nor lot in the great work" (applause). The denial of moral sympathy in Great Britain was accompanied by the active exertions of certain parts of the British people on behalf of the South, so much so that it, I think, will scarcely be denied by any man, that if the shipyards, and founderies, and looms, and shops of Great Britain had refused their succor to rebellion, the rebellion would have died out in the nation long ago. I said in private what it did not seem altogether judicious to say in public, that in some sense I might bring this war and lay it at the feet of the British people, and say, not that you intended it, but that the course of conduct pursued, legal or illegal, was such that, but for you, the rebellion would have perished almost in the beginning of it (applause). And no man but knows that there was also in England an extraordinary spectacle of men who, from sheer hatred of war, by misjudgment and mistake were left to foment it. There never was a misposition more signal than that of the British public, as represented in their leading intelligent classes, in this conflict. There never was a case where a nation, by its upper classes, went so unquestionably in favor of slavery at the same time that they occupied themselves in the intensest denunciations of slavery—that went against free society at the very time they were particularly praising free society and arrogating to themselves its highest claims and honors. Under such circumstances we were, you recollect, drifting right toward war. I told the British people that war was not our choice, and yet terrible and cruel as it was, there was something in this struggle so near to us, and so indispensable to national life, that rather than that there should be interference, rather than there should be disruption and dismemberment, rather than that this republican free government should fall, we would stand war with Great Britain, with France, with Europe (applause). It would have been difficult to say this without the appearance of threat; but that difficulty was solved for me by the iterated and reiterated charges brought against me of having been bellicose in my own country, and of having threatened all manner of desolation to Great Britain: and my reply was this, that I felt a part, and full part in proportion, of the deep indignation which my own people felt against Great Britain, and that I had never desired war, but abhorred it, but that I held the great principles of free Republican government to be so precious that we would not give them up, not even at the threat nor infliction of war, no matter who brought it upon us. This being the cruel disappointment that we experienced in our expectation of sympathy from Great Britain, you will ask me, "What did you find to be the facts and condition of things?" I found, in the first place, on going there, that every man I met was a Southern man, not literally born in the South, but this is the division they have themselves made. These are the terms applied. They are Southerners and Northerners even more than we are here. I found that on the railways, on the boats, in the hotels, wherever there was a travelling public, there was a public in sympathy with the South, and adverse to the North. It was not an uncommon thing to hear a gentleman who had talked freely and kindly with me on other matters say, as the news was discussed, "Bad news we have got by the last steamer." "Ah, what is the news?" being a little troubled. "I understand," he would reply, "that Meade has driven Lee entirely out of Pennsylvania" (laughter). "God send us much more bad news, then," said I. But coming from communities enthusiastic and almost homogenous on this subject, it was strange to my ears to hear well-dressed and well-read men congratulate themselves on disasters to the North, and rejoicing in the success of the South; but such is the case. Nor will there return to your side one young man who has been travelling that will not bring back to you this substantial account; that wherever he went, almost every man whom he met, without exception, was against the North and in favor of the South; and you can well imagine the impression that would be made on the mind of such. He would say, "There is no question about this matter—the whole British nation is against us." Go where you will, up or down, you will find it all the same, and that was the effect impressed upon my mind. On still further inquiry, I was disappointed in the body to which I myself belonged—the Congregationalists, known as Independents in England. I had supposed, since they are set for a testimony for freedom and have been arrayed almost invariably on the side of struggling peoples and struggling liberties, I supposed I should find them right. I did not. I do not mean that there is not a very large part of that body whose principles are right. They will be included under the head which I shall mention by and by, but I am sorry to say that I did not find the influential and leading clergymen of that denomination, nor the influential and leading laymen on our side. They said that they sympathized with liberty. Yes, they sympathized with liberty just exactly as the icicles sympathize with sunlight and Summer (laughter). It chills you to come near them; and I said to them, I want no such sympathy, and I want nothing, if it cannot come from enthusiastic hearts; it does no good and we do not want it. I found also the most profound ignorance of our affairs and of the operation of our institutions, and that, too, in quarters where I had a right to expect more intelligence. I found the most active and unscrupulous efforts made by Southern men to stir up animosity toward our country. And let me say that the bad cause was better served than the good one there, as to some extent it has been in our own land, for I am sure that the South, for a bad cause, has more nearly put forth every particle of strength that it has to put forth than we have for a good cause. And as it is at home, it was abroad. Where we send one man to England to influence public opinion, they send a score; where we print one book of information, they a library; where we touched one spring, they touched a hundred. They seemed to pervade England, and they seemed, with the unerring instinct of selfishness and despotism, to know just where to undermine the generous and better feelings—just where to invoke the influence of ignorance—just where to touch men so that principle should fall and profit take its place (applause). You may then imagine the surprise and scepticism with which, under these circumstances, I received the assurance of friends on every side that the great heart of the British nation was on our side. I had found nobody, except unconditional friends of emancipation, in whose society I was thrown—I had found almost nobody that spoke kindly of us or that seemed to be in sympathy with us, and yet my ears were filled with these assurances day and night. "You are mistaken, you are mistaken, this great English people are sound at heart." I said, Where under heaven do the English people keep their hearts, then? (Laughter and applause.) And if I had spoken in my early visit to England in June, I could not have spoken as I now do and shall. Neither on my first return from the Continent in September could I have understood and felt what I understand now, in some measure, and entirely believe that they were right, and that, after all, the great heart of the British nation is with us of the North (great applause).

Let me take up, then, one part of society after another, and state, as I understand them to be, the facts. First, there is the great commercial class of England, those that are making money and those that have made it; if you please, call them the plutocracy. They are against us. In the first place there is a large class of men that are actively employed in supplying the South with all its necessaries—except principle (laughter), and they are making or suppose that they are making large fortunes. We cannot doubt which side they take. The next is a very large class of men who, for precisely an opposite reason, somehow are opposed to the North and in favor of the South; namely, those who have been accustomed to make money, but found this interrupting war had stopped their profits; and men that want to make money, but do not; they are opposed to us. And between these two classes lies an intermediate one of men who are bewildered and perplexed, and see that business is more or less affected, as it is over the whole continent, by its sympathetic relations with this continent. They say, When will this war end? And as the offensive is on the Northern side, they feel as though whenever the North will stop *aggressing* the South the war will stop. So in the main they are against us. It may be lowered down to this: that while there are very noble exceptions here and there all through England—men that stand out of their class above and against it—speaking comprehensively, the commercial class of England are against the North, and in favor of the South. I have spoken of the religious people. It is very difficult for me to analyze the causes that have turned both the established churchmen and the dissenters in respect to their most influential men against us. I do not think so in respect to the laymen; but the influential laymen and the influential clergymen, I think, are adverse to us as a body. The ground usually taken is this: that the North is not sincere; and secondly, that the war is a great sin. And no where else, in this world, is there so tender a conscience on the subject of war as in Great Britain—when she is not waging it herself (great applause). She has, I believe, only three wars on hand now—in China, Japan, and, I believe, in Australia—no matter where it is, it is somewhere; and the rest of her leisure she occupies with a profound regret and horror for this American war. If it was for but a ship on the sea, she was ready to go to war with us; if it was for the territory of a remote island in the Antarctic Ocean, she was ready to go to war with the savages; if it was but to beat down the cities of Japan, she had no objection to burn a town with 160,000 inhabitants in it; but when a people are making war for their own life, for everything that dignifies humanity, they stand wondering at God's patience with men that make war (laughter). And I am sorry to say that aside from the Friends, who have always maintained and given their countrymen a consistent testimony against war, those men who were most querulous against our war were men who had no particular objection to the Crimean war, the opium war, and wars if not already on the hands, at least on the tips of their fingers. I told them to their faces, in Exeter Hall, there was not a land on the face of the globe against which they had not dashed their bloody prows, and that their flag was a symbol of their history—a cross inscribed on a field of blood (great applause). The English nobility, as a class, are also against us. I shall read some very noble exceptions by and by. But these exceptions do not alter the general statement that the nobility as a class are against us. For the most obvious reason we are not accustomed to estimate the effect of our example upon European institutions. When he takes his walk abroad, it is not the elephant that weighs and measures his own gravity as he treads on the field-mouse's tail. It is the mouse that meditates (laughter). A gigantic Parliament, as this, on such a continent as this, while we are treading on the steps of accomplishing history, we are not feeling the jar that we ourselves are making, but they that have thrones and aristocratic privileges do; and they are the best interpreters of the reactionary influence of American ideas and American institutions. And it was the *Saturday Review*, that scholarly, keen, brilliant, unprincipled paper of England; it was that paper that had the frankness to say that Americans must not think that their remarks were because they disliked us, but it was because they found our ideas and our example working in Great Britain, and they were obliged in order to defeat these ideas in England to attack us in America. They are there fighting home battles; for there is an unerring instinct—there is this feeling—that if a government can be so efficient, covering such a continent, and so ludicrously cheap, how can we maintain our expensive and complicated government in our sphere? Lest they should not think of it themselves, millions of common people, who are being taxed perpetually, suggest it to their attention. Do you suppose they do not know it? Do you not know that the effect of our Revolution was to send revolution all through Europe? The causes of it were all prepared. It was the torch of our Revolutionary war that set fire to the trains that burned all over Europe. They don't forget it. They dread the reactionary influence of American ideas. Such prosperity—such power, and at so little expense—with so few monopolies and prerogatives to the favored classes! Therefore, when they oppose us, it is not to be construed as malignant opposition to us—it is nothing more than another form of self-love, for it is self-defending itself. If you had been born with a coronet on your head, you would have done just so (laughter). In Parliament if a vote were taken to-day according to the private thoughts, sympathies and wishes among members, I suppose they would vote five to one against the North and in favor of the South. It is believed, too, by those well informed, that at least a portion of the government have been entirely willing to go into a rupture with the North, and that but for the unflinching restraints they would have done so long ago. It is the impression throughout the realm that the Sovereign of Great Britain has been from the first our judicious but our steadfast friend (prolonged applause). It is believed and so represented to me that her never rightly estimated and lamented consort was our fast friend, and that among the last acts of his life were those which erased from documents presented to him sentences that would have inflamed the growing anger (renewed applause). He died with the blessing upon his head, "Blessed are the peace-makers" (applause). All through in the British government, as at present constituted (and I shall read you their names by and by), there are several that are known to be warm and disinterested in their regard for the North, as there are others in that government who, it is known in England—at least it was so represented to me by those who ought to know—who would not hesitate to plunge the Continent in a war for the sake of disrupting this nation. And if you ask me what is the great underlying influence that has been at work upon the upper class of England, I answer thus:

1. Commercial interest and rivalry therein.

2. Class power and the fear of contagion of American ideas.

3. (I know not how I shall say it so that it shall be the least offensive to our friends on the other side, but they have not come and you have not come to the bottom of the conduct of Great Britain until you have touched that delicate and real foundation cause), we are too large and strong a nation (laughter).

This is, in my judgment, the gist of the whole matter. A distinguished clergyman of London, personally kind and friendly to me, said to me in these very words: "Mr. Beecher, you may just as well have it said to you; you have been growing so strong that we have felt for a good many years that we had got to take you down, and we were very glad when the job was taken from our hands by your own people" (laughter). When Mr. Roebuck—whose speech it was my great privilege to hear (laughter)—declared that same fact in Parliament, it was cheered immensely, but reprobated in *The Times* and in the other presses that sympathized with the South, not because he had not spoken the truth, but because it was a truth not best to be spoken (laughter). It is said (and I intended to have brought here to-night to have read) in one of their recent publications—and it was the immediate cause of one of my speeches there—that we were a lawless and arrogant set of men; were proud of our sudden growth; and it is said that even Mr. Beecher himself was regarded as a specimen of what they should have to deal with in the nation supposed to be composed of men breathing that sort of threats (laughter). Now when men make such lamentable mistakes as to suppose that such a peaceful man as I am is so dangerous (laughter), is it to be supposed that they would not make a mistake in estimating the whole nation? (Renewed laughter.) It is the sun that makes the seeds grow. It is the light that stimulates the seeds into growth; but under all this is the dunghill that makes the heat that causes the seeds to spring up under the genial influences of the sun. And it is just exactly that hot bed at the bottom, underneath, that works up and turns aside what would be otherwise insufficient to do so, the natural sympathies from the North. It is just that which has prepared them for this, that and the other prejudice and misinformation. With this state of facts you will ask how is it then that the English people have been restrained? How is it that they have not gone into overt belligerency? That is the very question that I propose to answer and in the statement that the English heart is on our side (applause). The nobility is against us; the government is divided, and a part is against us. I think I may say that while the brains that represent progress in Great Britain are in our favor, yet the conservative intelligence of Great Britain is against us, and that all there is on the surface of society representing its dignities, its power and its intelligence is anti-American. And the question I propose to you is how, with the papers, magazines and universities—how with their titled estates opposed to us, that they have been restrained from manifesting this in open hostility? It is because there is a great underlying influence that restrains them—it is the influence of that underlife, and to a very great extent of the non-voting English who have produced this effect. It is a thing I could not understand at first, and which it is very difficult for us to understand—for whenever in our country there is a majority of the votes there is sure to be a direction of affairs. But it is not so in England. I learn that the men who could not vote where they were united and determined had the power to control the men who do vote. This is not an anomaly, then. It would be in our institutions, but it is not in English institutions—among other reasons, because in a nation where one class have a preëminence and privilege and the underlying class have none, all the instinct of self-preservation teaches this favored class never to goad that great underlying class into madness. There is always that dragon of revolution coiled up that they are afraid to arouse. Therefore it is, that when the great under class of England is determined in one direction, they always carry their point; first or last, the upper classes have to give way. Men whose fortunes are made—men whose only thought of the future is to carry the rich freights of the present along into the future—that class are generally against us. Men who have no fortunes—men having very little in the present to care for, who are struggling for better fortunes for themselves and children—that class are on our side. They are in our favor, but they are a class who have not much voice—have very little expression, and they are therefore little heard. Their report is not wafted across, but their influence is felt on the other side of the sea. It seems to me that it is peculiarly fitting that we, who believe in the common people, should find ourselves opposed by the titled and strong, but should find our allies and fast friends in the emergency have been the common people of Great Britain (applause). The result has been that the government has more and more modified its policy until it has now come to that condition in which, I believe, we may in the main feel satisfied. England has determined that ships of war shall not be sent out from her ports to harass our commerce and drive it from the sea. The language of Lord John Russell in his statement of the policy of the British government in the future, has met with some few dissentient voices, but it has met with the approbation of the great mass of the British people, and the government will unquestionably maintain for the future that policy which they now stand upon (applause). Then there is a growing enlightened sympathy in our favor, also, throughout the realm. There are more public men, more public lecturers and more public meetings influencing opinion in our favor than ever before. And when men say to you that they doubt this English feeling, I always bring this fact to them—that the English Parliament, as this, on such a continent as this, while we are treading on the steps of accomplishing history, we are not feeling the jar that we ourselves are making, but they that have thrones and aristocratic privileges do; and they are the best interpreters of the reactionary influence of American ideas and American institutions. 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And it is just exactly that hot bed at the bottom, underneath, that works up and turns aside what would be otherwise insufficient to do so, the natural sympathies from the North. It is just that which has prepared them for this, that and the other prejudice and misinformation. With this state of facts you will ask how is it then that the English people have been restrained? How is it that they have not gone into overt belligerency? That is the very question that I propose to answer and in the statement that the English heart is on our side (applause). The nobility is against us; the government is divided, and a part is against us. I think I may say that while the brains that represent progress in Great Britain are in our favor, yet the conservative intelligence of Great Britain is against us, and that all there is on the surface of society representing its dignities, its power and its intelligence is anti-American. And the question I propose to you is how, with the papers, magazines and universities—how with their titled estates opposed to us, that they have been restrained from manifesting this in open hostility? It is because there is a great underlying influence that restrains them—it is the influence of that underlife, and to a very great extent of the non-voting English who have produced this effect. It is a thing I could not understand at first, and which it is very difficult for us to understand—for whenever in our country there is a majority of the votes there is sure to be a direction of affairs. But it is not so in England. I learn that the men who could not vote where they were united and determined had the power to control the men who do vote. This is not an anomaly, then. It would be in our institutions, but it is not in English institutions—among other reasons, because in a nation where one class have a preëminence and privilege and the underlying class have none, all the instinct of self-preservation teaches this favored class never to goad that great underlying class into madness. There is always that dragon of revolution coiled up that they are afraid to arouse. Therefore it is, that when the great under class of England is determined in one direction, they always carry their point; first or last, the upper classes have to give way. Men whose fortunes are made—men whose only thought of the future is to carry the rich freights of the present along into the future—that class are generally against us. Men who have no fortunes—men having very little in the present to care for, who are struggling for better fortunes for themselves and children—that class are on our side. They are in our favor, but they are a class who have not much voice—have very little expression, and they are therefore little heard. Their report is not wafted across, but their influence is felt on the other side of the sea. It seems to me that it is peculiarly fitting that we, who believe in the common people, should find ourselves opposed by the titled and strong, but should find our allies and fast friends in the emergency have been the common people of Great Britain (applause). The result has been that the government has more and more modified its policy until it has now come to that condition in which, I believe, we may in the main feel satisfied. England has determined that ships of war shall not be sent out from her ports to harass our commerce and drive it from the sea. The language of Lord John Russell in his statement of the policy of the British government in the future, has met with some few dissentient voices, but it has met with the approbation of the great mass of the British people, and the government will unquestionably maintain for the future that policy which they now stand upon (applause). Then there is a growing enlightened sympathy in our favor, also, throughout the realm. There are more public men, more public lecturers and more public meetings influencing opinion in our favor than ever before. And when men say to you that they doubt this English feeling, I always bring this fact to them—that the English Parliament, as this, on such a continent as this, while we are treading on the steps of accomplishing history, we are not feeling the jar that we ourselves are making, but they that have thrones and aristocratic privileges do; and they are the best interpreters of the reactionary influence of American ideas and American institutions. And it was the *Saturday Review*, that scholarly, keen, brilliant, unprincipled paper of England; it was that paper that had the frankness to say that Americans must not think that their remarks were because they disliked us, but it was because they found our ideas and our example working in Great Britain, and they were obliged in order to defeat these ideas in England to attack us in America. They are there fighting home battles; for there is an unerring instinct—there is this feeling—that if a government can be so efficient, covering such a continent, and so ludicrously cheap, how can we maintain our expensive and complicated government in our sphere? Lest they should not think of it themselves, millions of common people, who are being taxed perpetually, suggest it to their attention. Do you suppose they do not know it? Do you not know that the effect of our Revolution was to send revolution all through Europe? The causes of it were all prepared. It was the torch of our Revolutionary war that set fire to the trains that burned all over Europe. They don't forget it. They dread the reactionary influence of American ideas. Such prosperity—such power, and at so little expense—with so few monopolies and prerogatives to the favored classes! Therefore, when they oppose us, it is not to be construed as malignant opposition to us—it is nothing more than another form of self-love, for it is self-defending itself. If you had been born with a coronet on your head, you would have done just so (laughter). In Parliament if a vote were taken to-day according to the private thoughts, sympathies and wishes among members, I suppose they would vote five to one against the North and in favor of the South. It is believed, too, by those well informed, that at least a portion of the government have been entirely willing to go into a rupture with the North, and that but for the unflinching restraints they would have done so long ago. It is the impression throughout the realm that the Sovereign of Great Britain has been from the first our judicious but our steadfast friend (prolonged applause). It is believed and so represented to me that her never rightly estimated and lamented consort was our fast friend, and that among the last acts of his life were those which erased from documents presented to him sentences that would have inflamed the growing anger (renewed applause). He died with the blessing upon his head, "Blessed are the peace-makers" (applause). All through in the British government, as at present constituted (and I shall read you their names by and by), there are several that are known to be warm and disinterested in their regard for the North, as there are others in that government who, it is known in England—at least it was so represented to me by those who ought to know—who would not hesitate to plunge the Continent in a war for the sake of disrupting this nation. And if you ask me what is the great underlying influence that has been at work upon the upper class of England, I answer thus:

1. Commercial interest and rivalry therein.

2. Class power and the fear of contagion of American ideas.

3. (I know not how I shall say it so that it shall be the least offensive to our friends on the other side, but they have not come and you have not come to the bottom of the conduct of Great Britain until you have touched that delicate and real foundation cause), we are too large and strong a nation (laughter).

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Among the members of the Government known to be favorable to the Federal cause are the following: The Duke of Argyle (who married a daughter of the Dutchess of Sutherland), Lord Granville, Right Hon. Chas. Pelham Villiers, Mr. Milnor Gibson, Mr. Jas. Stansfield, Mr. Chas. Gibson. Members of Parliament: Messrs. John Bright (cheers), I told him it would be just so; Richard Cobden (cheers); you know your friends, I see; W. E. Forster, less known, but just as firm and sturdy a friend; E. A. Leatham, Guildford Onslow, James White, P. A. Taylor, F. Doulton, W. Williams, The O'Donoghue, E. Baines, Thomas Carnes, W. E. Baxter, James Caird, Samuel Gurney, George Hanfield, Grant Duff, James Kershaw, Wilfred Lawson. Among the newspapers and magazines favorable to our cause are the following: *The Morning Star*—the organ of the advanced liberal party—managing proprietor and editor, Mr. Samuel Lucas; *The Daily News*, another liberal organ, edited by Mr. Walker, a paper which, if a man wants to take *The Times*, without its venom and wickedness, he can take. It is just as able as *The Times* and a thousand times more principled. The evening editions of the above journals are respectively named *The Evening Star* and *The Express* (a queer name!). *The Spectator*—weekly, edited by Mr. Hutton, one of the oldest and most influential of the weeklies and distinguished by its calm and philosophical tone; *Lloyd's Weekly News*, edited by Blanchard Jerrold, with a circulation of 400,000 weekly, the great hebdomidal organ of the working classes; *The Beehive*, organ of the Trades Unions, the *Non-Conformist* (all sorts of dissenters); *The British Standard*, Dr. Campbell, Congregationalist; *The Freeman*, Baptist; *Macmillan's Magazine*, edited by Prof. Masson, of Cambridge University; *The Dial*, weekly journal of *The Morning Star; The British Ensign* (Congregationalist); *The Westminster Review*, the quarterly organ of English Radicalism; *The Observer*, the ministerial weekly organ; *The Reader*, one of the principal literary journals. The most popular and widely circulated journals, in both the metropolis and the country, support the Northern cause. The aggregate circulation is at least a million each issue. Among the leading provincial papers may be mentioned the following: The Manchester *Examiner*, circulating through the manufacturing districts; the Newcastle *Chronicle*, Liverpool *Daily Post*, Birmingham *Daily Post*, Leeds *Mercury*, Preston *Guardian*, Dundee *Advertiser*, *Caledonian Mercury*, Edinburgh; *Northern Daily Whig*, Belfast; Carlisle *Examiner*, Kendall *Mercury*, the paper of Lake District; *Hampshire Independent*, Southampton; Bradford *Advertiser*, in which Perronet Thompson writes weekly; Bedford *Mercury; The Irishman*, an organ of the Meagher and O'Brien party in Ireland; and the Bucks *Advertiser*. Among men distinguished in science and literature are the following: Lord Carlisle, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Lord Houghton, better known as Monckton Milnes, author and poet (applause); Sir Charles Lyell, the eminent geologist (applause); John Stuart Mill, the greatest of England's philosophers of the present day (tremendous applause); Sir Stephen Lushington, Judge of the Admiralty Court, and one of the great leaders in the English struggle against slavery and the slave trade (applause); Goldwin Smith, Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford (applause); Professor Cairnes, Professor of Political Economy in Belfast University; Professor F. W. Newman, the eminent Professor of Latin and English Literature; Gen. Perronett Thompson, the founder of the *Westminster Review*, first Governor of Sierra Leone, and author of the *Anti-Corn Law Catechism* (applause); Dr. Chapman, editor of *The Westminster Review;* Mr. Thos. Hughes, author of *Tom Brown's School Days*, the most popular work in England next to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (applause); Mr. Edward Miall, leader of the English Nonconformists; George Wilson, Chairman of the Anti-Corn Law League; George Thompson, fellow-laborer with Wilberforce, Clarkson and Brougham, in their anti-slavery struggles; Prof. Nichol, of Glasgow University; Dr. Foster, Chairman of the Religious Liberation Society; Prof. Beesly, Professor of Political Economy in University Hall; James Taylor, Jr., founder of the freehold land movement; Dr. Lees, the eminent temperance lecturer; W. J. Fox, the late member for Oldham; Washington Wilks and Henry Vincent, well known as popular leaders or writers; Mr. Scott, the Chamberlain of London; the Mayors of Manchester, Birmingham, Rochdale and Faversham. Clergymen and ministers are as follows: Dr. French, Dean of Westminster; Dr. Candlish and Dr. Guthrie, the leaders of the Free Church in Scotland; Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noël; Rev. Newman Hall; Rev. Wm. Brock; Rev. Dr. Halley, President of New College; Rev. Dr. Angus, President of Regent's Park College; Rev. Dr. John Cairns, Berwick-on-Tweed; Rev. Dr. James Begg, Elinburgh; Rev. Dr. Lindsay Alexander, Edinburgh; Rev. Canon London; Rev. Dr. Hannah, Dr. Brunton, Rev. Dr. Anderson, of Glasgow; Rev. Dr. Campbell, of London; Rev. Dr. Hamilton, of London; Rev. W. Batchelor, of Glasgow. These are only a few of thousands of names of men who are our friends, but they are better known, and have signalized their friendship by literary services in the cause of the North. I ask you, fellow-citizens, whether upon the facts that I have stated, there is not reason to believe that after all we have been all misinformed, and that there is a great undertone in England of friend

Shepley to let them enjoy the right of voting at the next election. You will find an interesting account of the proceedings in *The Times* of this morning, which was, indeed, the *only* paper that had any notice whatever of it. It is unquestionably one of the most important and significant meetings which have ever taken place in this city; for it has opened the door to the free discussion of that vast and difficult question—a question which may be postponed, but cannot ultimately be avoided—what is the status of the colored free man in Louisiana?

You will find the address to Gov. Shepley, a well-written and temperate document; many parts of it put with a clearness and soundness of logic quite unanswerable. The meeting, which consisted of some six or seven hundred people, was one of the most orderly and well-conducted that could be imagined; the speaking excellent, and the gradations of color, from black to white, so gradual, that it was utterly impossible for any but the most practiced expert to say, in many cases, whether a man belonged to the Anglo-Saxon or African side of the fence. Indeed, if whiteness of skin has anything to do with the question, the colored men there present would belong more to the Anglo-Saxon, Gallic, Celtic or any other white race than the African.

The object of the meeting was most clearly summed up in the speech of Capt. Pinchbeck, a colored officer in the United States army. He said that neither he nor his fellow-citizens had any favors to ask of the United States government; they only demanded, as a right, that they should be allowed the suffrage. They were fighting our battles, and were willing to fight them. They did not ask for *social equality*, and did not expect it, but they demanded *political rights*. They wanted to be MEN. He cared not for the past, but the future. He believed that if *colored people were citizens, they had a right to vote; if they were not citizens, they were exempt from the draft.*

As to the abstract *right* of the matter, this last paragraph looks certainly like a poser. But the view which most sensible people here are taking—real uncompromising friends of the colored race—is, that this is not the best time to be urging those rights when, as Dr. Dortic very aptly remarked, "their friends had enough to carry already." There is no use plucking green fruit when, by a little more waiting, it will come to rich maturity; no use killing the goose that is even now laying its golden eggs.

NEMO.

To his Excellency Brig.-Gen. GEORGE F. SHEPLEY, *Military Governor of Louisiana.*

The undersigned respectfully submit the following to his Excellency:

That they are natives of Louisiana and citizens of the United States; that they are loyal citizens, sincerely attached to the country and the Constitution, and ardently desire the maintenance of the national unity, for which they are ready to sacrifice their fortunes and their lives.

That a large portion of them are owners of real estate, and all of them are owners of personal property; that many of them are engaged in the pursuits of commerce and industry, while others are employed as artisans in various trades; that they are all fitted to enjoy the privileges and immunities belonging to the condition of citizens of the United States; and among them may be found many of the descendants of those men whom the illustrious Jackson styled "his fellow-citizens" when he called upon them to take up arms to repel the enemies of the country.

Your petitioners further respectfully represent that, over and above the right which, in the language of the declaration of Independence, they possess to liberty and the pursuit of happiness, they are supported by the opinion of just and loyal men, especially by that of Edward Bates, Attorney-General, in the claim to the right of enjoying the privileges and immunities pertaining to the condition of citizens of the United States; and, to support the legitimacy of this claim, they believe it simply necessary to submit to your Excellency the following considerations, which they beg of you to weigh in the balance of law and justice.

Notwithstanding their forefathers served in the army of the United States in 1814-1815, and aided in repelling from the soil of Louisiana a haughty enemy, over-confident of success, yet these and their descendants have ever since, and until the era of the present rebellion, been estranged and even repulsed, excluded from all rights, from all franchises, even the smallest, when their brave fathers offered their bosoms to the enemy to preserve the territorial integrity of the republic.

During this period of forty-nine years they have never ceased to be peaceable citizens, paying their taxes on assessments of more than nine million dollars.

At the call of Gen. Butler they hastened to rally under the banner of Union and liberty; they have spilled their blood and are still pouring it out for the maintenance of the Constitution of the United States; in a word, they are soldiers of the Union, and they will defend it so long as their hands have strength to hold a musket.

While Gen. Banks was at the siege of Port Hudson, and the city threatened by the enemy, your Excellency called for troops for the defence of the city, and they were foremost in responding to the call, having raised the first regiment in the short space of forty-eight hours.

In consideration of this fact, as true and clear as the sun which lights this great continent: in consideration of the services already performed and still to be rendered by them to their common country, they humbly beseech your Excellency to cast your eyes upon a loyal population, awaiting with confidence and dignity the proclamation of those inalienable rights which belong to the condition of citizens of the great American republic.

Theirs is but a feeble voice claiming attention in the midst of the grave questions raised by this terrible conflict, yet, confident of the justice which guides the action of the government, they have no hesitation in speaking what is prompted by their hearts. "We are upon, treat us as such," ... refer to your wisdom the task of deciding whether they, loyal and devoted men, who are ready to make every sacrifice for the support of the best government which man has been permitted to create, are to be deprived of the right to assist in establishing in the new convention a civil government in our beloved State of Louisiana, and also in choosing their representatives, both for the Legislature of the State and for the Congress of the nation.

"PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND."

THE Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society congratulate its members and friends that, through the madness, rebellion, and secession of the South, avowedly in behalf of its Heaven-accursed and world-abhorred slave system—involving the country in a civil war of the hugest proportions and the most sanguinary character, which still continues its desolating work—the constitutional powers of the Federal government are now ample to decree the immediate and total abolition of slavery. They believe that, as a measure of national peace and unity, of humanity and justice, such a decree should be passed by the ensuing Congress at as early a period in the session as practicable—thus not only sustaining the Emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln of January 1st, 1863, but also effectually disposing of that remnant of the slave institution which was exempted by the proclamation aforesaid, in such a manner as may seem most equitable and expedient by Congress.

The warrant for this procedure is to be found in the still greatly imperilled state of the republic, and in the legitimate functions of the government that may be exercised in such an alarming crisis. By common law, an individual has the right of self-defence by all means recognized by that law. In view of international law, a nation is an individual, and has the right of self-defence by all means recognized by that law; one of those means being the destruction of any dynasty or institution that imperils national life. Slavery has struck at the life of the nation, and declared its own existence incompatible with that of the nation. Hence the nation, acting through its official organs, has the right to abolish slavery throughout its dominions; and past events demonstrate alike the necessity and duty of exercising this right without delay and without compromise.

The Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, therefore, deeply impressed with the importance of a general cooperation of the friends of impartial liberty at this time, in order to influence and secure the action of Congress in the manner described, hereby announce, that they have resolved to put forthwith into the lecturing field as many agents as the funds of the Society will warrant, whose sole work shall be to enlighten the public mind on this subject, stimulate to a wide-spread movement in favor of universal emancipation, and thus make the recurrence of another SLAVEHOLDERS' REBELLION an impossible event.

To sustain and increase the number of these agents, the Committee solicit the generous contribution and donations of all who desire to see the speedy suppression of the war, and in the fullest sense "LIBERTY AND UNION" made "ONE AND INSEPARABLE."

In furtherance of this patriotic and Christian object, the "Woman's Loyal National League" at New York has taken the field, in advance, to procure to a petition to the next Congress, for the total abolition of slavery, A MILLION OF SIGNATURES on the part of the loyal women of the republic. It deserves all possible encouragement and success, and we shall extend to it the heartiest cooperation. But let the loyal MEN be equally zealous and resolved to be as potentially heard in the same manner, by the same body. Let such a petition be sent to Congress from every city, town, village and hamlet in all the loyal States. No time is to be lost. "*One last, best effort now!*"

The Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society is WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH, Esq., 8 Railroad Exchange, Boston, Mass. Donations may also be sent to OLIVER JOHNSON, Esq., Anti-Slavery Office, 48 Beekman street, New York, and to J. MILLER MCKIM, Anti-Slavery Office, 106 North Tenth street, Philadelphia, Pa.

☞ Editors of newspapers friendly to the object here announced, are respectfully requested to insert this announcement in their columns.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1863.

CELEBRATION OF THE THIRD DECADE OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

AT the Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, held in the city of New York, in May last, it was unanimously

Resolved, That in accordance with usage, and from reasons of obvious fitness, it is proper that the completion of another Decade of the Society's existence should be marked by a special public meeting devoted to a general review and survey of the cause; and that therefore this Society, when it adjourns on this occasion, will adjourn to meet in the city of Philadelphia, on the third day of December next, then and there to celebrate, in an appropriate manner, the thirtieth—and we would fain hope the final—anniversary of its formation.

In accordance with this vote, the Executive Committee hereby announce that the THIRD DECADE of the Society will be held in Philadelphia, on THURSDAY and FRIDAY, Dec. 3d and 4th, 1863.

Historically, it will be an occasion of thrilling interest and joyous congratulation, unequalled in the eventful career of the Society since its formation. Unquestionably, it will be largely attended by the friends of universal liberty, representing every section of the country loyal to the government. Who among them will need any stronger appeal than the simple announcement of the fact to induce him to be present, if circumstances should permit? Let them make their arrangements accordingly. "Whosoever will, let him come"—come in the spirit of Justice and love—come as remembering those in bonds as bound with them—come as one abhorring "the guilty phantasy, that man can hold property in man"—come to put down the rebellion by helping to exterminate the hideous system from which it has legitimately sprung!

A strong array of able and eloquent speakers will be in attendance.

In behalf of the Executive Committee,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *President.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS, CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, } *Secretaries.*

Pennsylvania Annual Meeting.—The Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Concert Hall, Philadelphia, on Saturday, the 5th of December, at 10 o'clock, a.m. A full attendance of members and friends is earnestly requested.

JAMES MOTT, President.

J. M. MCKIM, Cor. Sec.

THE THIRTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS.

IN a very few days the XXXVIIIth Congress will assemble, for good or for evil to the country, according to its works. It is within its own choice whether it shall be the most illustrious and venerable that ever met—that ever can meet, indeed, if it do its duty—or sink into an insignificance of inaction, or an infamy of willing wickedness, such as has damned to fame not even the worst of its predecessors. "That ever can meet," we say, for it is scarcely imaginable that such a power and opportunity of good and evil can ever rest again in any American National Legislature. The destiny of the nation is to be settled, by the constituted authorities or in spite of them, before the next Congress can come into being. The country cannot endure the strain of this war for two years longer. Before December, 1865, the war will have given place to a peace, beneficent and honorable, or mischievous and disgraceful, according as its opportunities are used well or ill by those who shall seize and guide them aright. Of all those on whom the responsibility of the future of the country rests, there are none charged with a greater share of it than the members of the present Congress. The great questions, the solution of which is to be the excuse of "all the waste of wealth and loss of life" of this conflict, to foreign nations and to future ages, are to be settled in one way or the other before they are discharged of their functions by process of time. Either the Confederacy is to be recognized through our inability to reduce the rebellion, or the rebellion is to be suppressed including the abolition of slavery with the process, or the war is to come to an end by a compromise purchasing the guaranty of a united territory by that of a continuance of slavery, and that within the space of two years, and, probably of less than one. We can conceive of no fourth termination which can put an end to hostilities. And we wish we could be as absolutely certain of the better part being chosen, as many of our more sanguine friends deem it to be.

We hold that it is absolutely within the competency of the incoming Congress to give a direction to the policy of the country which shall make any settlement showing any grace to slavery an impossibility. And in the late action of the border States of Kentucky, Missouri and Maryland we see strong ground for hoping that this may be done. But it will not be done without the most violent opposition in Congress and in the country. Such a revolution as that which shall depose slavery from the throne of this nation strikes at too many interests and prejudices to prevail without a bitter struggle. Kings and Kaisers may be overthrown with a less radical convulsion of ideas and customs. The ramifications of its power and influence reach the remotest villages, as well as strike deep root in the great marts of trade. Its partisans know just what they want, they are thoroughly united in purpose and perfectly drilled in discipline. Even where they are a numerical minority, their audacity and ferocity give them a weight entirely independent of their numbers. And among the supporters of the nation, there is a numerous class who hang but lightly upon the party to which they have late in life allied themselves, and who would shake themselves easily loose from it to fall back to their old affinities upon a very moderate provocation. We think that our greatest danger now lies in an overweening confidence that our work is already done. In a sense it is true that slavery is doomed in this country, as it is true that despotism is doomed on the continent of Europe. But the one and the other may have a new lease of lingering life given to it by the crime or the folly of public and private men. How fair seemed the prospects of the Peoples in 1848, when Louis Phillippe had sneaked out of the back door of the Tuilleries as Mr. Smith, when the King of Prussia crowned himself with his emptied punch-bowl as all the diadem he had left, when the imperial "round and top" of Austrian sovereignty was going begging and at last thrust on brows of a boy of seventeen, and the Pope had to disguise himself, first as a reformer and afterwards as a footman! And yet the reaction came, and with it Bonaparte, and Von Bismarck and Antonelli. Despotism was nowhere intertwined with the habits, the prejudices and the immediate interests more closely and inveterately than was slavery with those of the American people. But we admit that there is a difference in the *receptivity* of new ideas in the nature of our people and in that of the dwellers in the elder world. In this is our hope, and in the lessons of the bitter teachings of the war that there can be no permanent Union or enduring prosperity while slavery is permitted to exist. But we have no belief that this education is yet complete. Slavery would not be allowed to stand in the way of a settlement on the basis of a return of the revolted States to their allegiance. At this moment the war could not be continued for the purpose of putting an end to slavery, after the territorial unity of the nation could be had. Perhaps a few months more may bring the nation up to this point. Better yet, if the possibility of the alternative be anticipated and prevented by wise and decided action.

The power to command the waves of domestic faction to be stilled and those of open rebellion to roll backward, is greatly in the hands of the imminent Congress. The power because of the opportunity. The rebellion is at its fullest height of malignity, if not of power. There is small danger of insidious propositions coming from the enemy this Winter. The war is in its bloodiest phase. A new demand for troops is depleting at once the labor and the capital of the nation. If ever a time could be imagined when the National Legislature could put forth all the powers with which every government is of necessity invested necessary for the preservation of its existence, that time is the present. The President has done his duty as the Commander-in-Chief and freed all the slaves in the country actually in rebellion. We think he might have done more and included the whole slave country in his exercise of the war-powers of the Constitution. But we have no right to doubt his honesty in what he withheld any more than his intrepidity and wisdom in going as far as he did. But what he omitted to do, it is in the competency of Congress to complete. It has its reserved war-powers, its rights of self-defence and the defence of its constituency, as well as the President. Slavery is the Arch-rebel, and it is as truly arrayed against the nation when lurking in the Border States under the disguise of a simulated loyalty as where it is openly and boldly in arms. Wherever there is a slaveholder, *who wishes to keep his slaves*, there is a secret well-wisher of Jefferson Davis, wishing only an opportunity to break forth into an open one. It is the most insensate of all imaginable follies to keep such an enemy in our borders to watch its opportunity to damage, if not to destroy us. Congress can destroy this secret enemy and its open one at once by a plain and decided exercise of the powers with which the emergency invests it. Let it abolish slavery, everywhere, by solemn enactment, in the loyal as well as the revolted States, with every liberal allowance of compensation to all masters not flagrantly traitorous, and the heaviest blow that human hands can give will have been dealt to the rebellion. It would make compromise impossible. It would take out of the mouths of our enemies abroad the epigrammatic taunt, "that we had abolished slavery where we could not reach it, and protected it where we could." It would effectually extinguish all thoughts of recognition on the part of foreign Powers. The rebels themselves could have no hope of securing an admission to the family of nations, excepting through the gate of emancipation. Slavery would be not only scotched, as it is now, but killed, never to revive again. And with it would die the only obstacle to a perfect and perpetual union.

And we think the prospect of so blessed a consummation is by no means unfavorable. The government have only a small absolute majority in the House; but it will be therefore the more watchful, compact and manageable. If the President favors such a complement of his own beginnings (and can we doubt it?), he can command it. And the position of the Border State men in Congress is favorable to such action. They are made up of unconditional Emancipationists, and slave-owners who wish to make the best bargain they can for their order. And both parties must see that now is their accepted time. Emancipation, on the one hand, and liberal compensation on the other, may be had now. But who can tell what changes the chances of war and politics may make in these directions, if the golden moment be not seized? Should the Border State members unite, from whatever motive, in this movement, as we are confident they will, it would decide the question at once, and make it a file between the teeth of the Northern Copperheads, which they may break their fangs upon, and slaver with their venom, but which it would be beyond their power to break. We trust that the members of Congress will do their duty in these premises, and we believe they will. But their constituents should remember that they have a duty to do as well. A public man needs to feel that he has his public behind him. Let our Senators and Representatives have this assurance. By all proper personal influence and by the weight of frequent and numerously-signed petitions, let the wishes of the people be made known to them. If [illegible] will be obeyed.

We are happy to learn that the lecturing movement set on foot by the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society has been eminently successful in its operations. The lecturers are welcomed everywhere, and by none more warmly than by the most earnest and intelligent Republicans. These assist in arranging their meetings, promote attendance upon them, and promise pecuniary aid towards continuing them. They have the discernment to see that there is no better seed for votes than the words of truth which the Old School Abolitionists scatter abroad. These efforts cannot fail to be felt, directly and indirectly, in urging Congress to do the great duty which its hands now find to do.

THINGS WORKING IN TENNESSEE.

THE following correspondence shows that the Military Governor of Tennessee has no idea of making himself an agent of the slaveholders for the return of their lost chattels.

QUARTERMASTER'S OFFICE, NASHVILLE, Tenn., Nov. 13, 1863.

To His Excellency, ANDREW JOHNSON, *Military Governor of Tennessee.*

GOVERNOR: The bearer (colored), Jane Woodall, is my house-servant. She is a slave, claimed by Christopher Woodall, a resident of Tennessee.

It is said that he is disloyal, and on a previous occasion the military authorities prevented him from taking her.

Has Mr. Woodall any right, under the President's proclamation and military law, to take this woman?

It strikes me not, as we have taken possession of rebel property without compensation.

Requesting your decision in the premises, I am, Governor, very respectfully your obedient servant,

JOHN C. CRANE,
Captain and Acting Quartermaster.

THE GOVERNOR'S RESPONSE.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, NASHVILLE, TENN., Nov. 13, 1863.

Respectfully returned. If the girl referred to within is *willing* to return with Mr. Woodall, she should be allowed to go; but, if not *willing*, she will not be compelled to go with him.

ANDREW JOHNSON, Military Governor.

PRO-SLAVERY PROSCRIPTION.—One member of the Missouri Delegation, sent to Washington some time ago to labor with the President for the removal of Gen. Schofield and the adoption of a radical policy on the Kansas border, incurred thereby the hostility of Attorney-General Bates, who sent him the following letter:

ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S OFFICE, WASHINGTON, Nov. 2, 1863.

W. W. EDWARDS, *Esq., St. Charles, Mo.*

SIR: Your recent active participation in political enterprises hostile to the known views and wishes of the Executive government of both the nation and State has rendered it unfit, in my opinion, for you to continue to hold the office of United States District-Attorney for the Eastern District of Missouri. Such being my opinion, the President, at my request, has caused your office to be vacated, and another person to be appointed in your stead.

Yours,
EDWARD BATES, Attorney-General.

If Mr. Bates had waited to hear the result of the election in Missouri, perhaps the above letter would not have been written. As it is, he may live to regret this act of proscription.

RECALL OF THE REBEL STATES.—We are glad to be able to say that the statements in the following dispatch to *The Tribune* accord substantially with information received by us through private channels:

WASHINGTON, Friday, Nov. 20, 1863.

The attention of the President, of the more prominent members of the Cabinet, and of other gentlemen, whose counsels are valued, has been largely given of late to the consideration of the important questions connected with the recall to the Union of the truant Southern States, several of which may soon be knocking at the door. The precise course to be adopted is not yet determined. Several theories claim the President's ear, but he is himself engaged in maturing a practical plan by which to secure reunion upon the only practicable basis, the basis of freedom and equality before the law for all. Recent utterances of the President, and instructions approved by him, to recently commissioned representatives of the government in districts of the South now in our possession, leave no doubt that the policy of this Administration is to permit none of the vagrant States to come back with a slave Constitution is fixed. The present discussion relates to the ways and means of effecting this result.

PERSONAL.

John Ross, Chief of the Cherokee Nation, and a delegation of the tribe are in Washington, to confer with the government upon the business affairs of the nation.

Gen. Richard Busteed of New York has been appointed U. S. District Judge for Alabama, vice Judge G. W. Lane, deceased. He has accepted the appointment.

E. P. Whipple's lecture on Joan of Arc, delivered before the Women's Loyal National League, at the Cooper Institute, on Monday evening last, afforded the highest gratification to all who heard it. The remaining lectures of the course are postponed till January.

William Lloyd Garrison will, we understand, deliver a lecture on the State of the Country, in Concert Hall, in the city of Philadelphia, on Wednesday evening next. Many delegates, from different parts of the country, to the Decade meeting will no doubt be careful to arrive in season to hear this lecture.

Gen. Butler was asked to deliver a lecture in this city before the Women's Loyal League. His Secretary, some time afterwards wrote: "Gen. Butler has delayed answering your courteous note, in the hope that he might be able so to arrange his affairs as to meet your wishes. Having been ordered on duty, the public service must take precedence."

It pains us to learn that the Rev. N. A Staples, Pastor of the Second Unitarian Church in Brooklyn, is suffering from impaired health, insomuch that his congregation has been constrained to vote him leave of absence for three months. He is a true-hearted man and a faithful preacher, and we hope that he will soon be able to return to his post.

A private letter from Rochester says: "Frederick Douglass's lecture on 'The Mission of the War,' delivered on the 17th inst., was a grand success. Corinthian Hall was crowded, and hundreds were unable to gain admission." Mr. Douglass will probably deliver the same lecture in this city, in January next, before the Women's Loyal National League.

Henry Ward Beecher addressed an immense audience in the Academy of Music in this city on Tuesday evening last. His subject was "The Antagonism between American (Republican) and European (Monarchical) Ideas," and he showed that this antagonism is the ground of the hostility to the American cause so extensively fostered by European governments. The proceeds of Mr. Beecher's lecture, amounting to $4,000, were appropriated to the Sanitary Commission.

Senator Wade, the "old war horse" of Ohio, declines lecturing in this city before the Women's Loyal League, on the ground that he has "no talent in that line," but he adds: "As a member of Congress you shall have my best endeavors for your success; for a cause more honorable to human nature, or that promised more benefit to the world, never challenged the investigation or called forth the efforts of the patriot or the philanthropist."

The Boston *Traveller* makes a suggestion as follows: "As Mr. Beecher has done so good a work in England, why not send Mr. Phillips thither to complete the business? He is the first of American orators, and he could lay down the anti-slavery law vastly to the satisfaction of our English friends." That Mr. Phillips might do a great work for the American cause in England there is no room for doubt, but we think he is more needed here than there at present.

The Liberator of last week says: "Among the passengers in the Asia, which arrived at this port on Saturday evening, was John P. Jewett, Esq., who has been abroad for nearly a year past, and during that time has done efficient service in the cause of our common country, and helped to baffle the machinations of the rebel emissaries in England. He brings us a letter from our honored and ever faithful coadjutor, George Thompson, Esq., in which Mr. Thompson states that he hopes to be in America by the 1st of January, partly on business, and partly to see his American friends at this cheering stage of the Anti-Slavery cause. His presence will be warmly greeted. No one has done as much as [illegible] gle of our government to put down the rebellion."

The Syracuse *Journal* of the 20th says: "The lecture of Mrs. Frances D. Gage, at the Unitarian Church last evening, on the Character, Condition and Claims of the Freed People of the South, was all that the friends of the cause she advocates could have wished it to be. The house was filled, and the audience listened with unabated attention to Mrs. Gage for an hour and a half. She exhibited without concealment, yet without exaggeration, the damages which slavery has done to the whole population of the South, and told us of some of the successes that have already blessed the efforts of the government and of the Freedmen's Relief Association to repair those damages. Of course, only a beginning of the great work has been made; and it will put in requisition all the enterprise and benevolence of the lovers of our country to accomplish it. But it must be done, at whatever cost. And we are gratified for the encouragement which Mrs. Gage gave us to increased exertion. She is a very fluent, graceful and impressive speaker."

The Paris correspondent of the New York *Times* says: "Garibaldi receives daily numerous letters, especially from the Kingdom of Naples, which wring his heart and make him fret like a lion in his cage. These letters, written by the people he delivered from the yoke of King Bomba's son, contain long and heart-rending details of their sufferings from the brigands of Francis Joseph, and complaints at the prolongation of the occupation of Rome and consequently of the unsettled condition of the country. They all terminate by begging of him to come again to their relief. To a man of Garibaldi's kindness of heart these appeals are not likely to go long unanswered. He believes and says that in a march on Rome he can this time gather up an army of 150,000 men. He attributes all the misfortunes of Italy to the French occupation of Rome and to the nest of conspirators the French flag there protects. His two horrors are Napoleon and the Pope. He will probably commence operations again in the Spring, whether Rome be occupied by French or Spanish troops, and especially if the grand struggle in the north of Europe is going on."

CHALLENGE TO THE REBEL AGENTS IN ENGLAND.—We copy the following letter from the London *Dial.*

SIR: An influential gentleman has just written me, referring to an article in *The Morning Star* of this day. He suggests that a challenge be presented to Mr. Mason and Col. Lamar, or to any other Southern advocate of slavery, to follow up the late Exeter Hall meeting with one on their side. He proposes that we should offer them a free stage at the hall for this purpose. I shall be glad to learn from Mr. Mason, who is lingering in our country, and from Col. Lamar, or either of them, if they are willing to meet in fair discussion on a London platform and before a London audience an anti-slavery opponent and champion of the constitutional government of the North as opposed to slavery and rebellion. The advocates of the North and of freedom have obtained the victory a thousand times since the war commenced in public meetings all over the country. We are now prepared for discussion. The American question cannot remain in its present position. Is Mr. Mason, or some Southern champion as his nominee, prepared to accept a challenge? I shall be glad to hear from him on this question. I will use my best endeavors to arrange for the conflict so as to save him or his friends harmless from any expense, and to find an antagonist for him or any Southern advocate worthy of our weapons and of their best steel. We will have no packed meeting. Tickets shall be obtained at a hundred different places in the metropolis. We will suffer no rowdies of any description, no Liverpool savagery, but such a fair conflict as a free Englishman loves. I await Mr. Mason's reply. I remain, sir, your obedient servant,

FRED. TOMPKINS, M. A., D. C. L.,
Hon. Sec. of the London Committee of Correspondence on American Affairs.
Temple, Oct. 24.

We have not heard that the rebel agents made any response to this challenge. Free discussion is not the means on which they rely for the furtherance of their cause. Indeed it is precisely this, more than anything else, that they dread, and studiously avoid as fatal to their schemes.

DELAWARE.—The election in this State for a member of Congress, which took place on the 19th inst. resulted in the choice of Mr. N. B. Smithers, the Emancipation candidate, by an almost unanimous vote. The order of Gen. Schenck, requiring voters, on being challenged for disloyalty, to take an oath of allegiance, so discouraged the Copperheads that they concluded to make a merit of staying away from the polls, and they generally did so.

A SUGGESTION.

OLIVER JOHNSON, Esq.—*My Dear Sir:* With very great pleasure do I notice in THE STANDARD an announcement of the purpose of the American Anti-Slavery Society to hold a meeting in Philadelphia next month, for celebrating the third decade of the Society's existence. Nothing but physical inability shall prevent my being there to enjoy the privilege of seeing and hearing the men who originated the great movement which is now culminating in the emancipation of the slaves. Who would have believed, thirty years ago, that Garrison, the Moses of this Exodus, with so many of the Aarons and Hurs who held up his hands, should live to see the triumph of his principles? Surely, while Paul has planted and Apollos watered, *it is God who giveth the increase!*

The single-hearted devotion to the cause of our oppressed brethren, which always characterized the Abolitionists, has not been without manifest blessing to themselves. While breaking the manacles of the slave, they have attained their own liberation from all bondage, intellectual and spiritual—thus fulfilling the words of promise that "he who watereth shall himself be watered." Probably there is not on earth a body of people, embracing men and women of so much refinement and intelligence, who at this moment are so entirely *free*, as you Garrisonian Abolitionists. I say *you*, for while my abolitionism dates back to 1831, I have not acted with your Society in the matter of voting, and have been therefore outside of your organization. The suspicion of heresy, which still enslaves many worthy men in Church organizations, you scout, and treat as the idle wind which you respect not. You allow no society of men, either political or ecclesiastical, Protestant or Popish, to hamper your conscience and stand between you and your God. You enjoy the full measure of Christian liberty which Paul enjoined upon his brethren when he said, "*Let no man judge you* in meat and drink," etc.

Now, the object of this communication is to suggest, whether, instead of disbanding as a Society and going into a state of disintegration, you ought not to continue your existence, locate branch-societies in every neighborhood, and hold monthly meetings, for mutual improvement, and for the attainment of that Christian perfection which all sincere men long for. American slavery is dead, but the funeral has not taken place; and you ought to be on hand, with picks and spades to make its grave so deep that a resurrection will be quite impossible. For the craven priesthood of the North, headed by Bishop Hopkins, and tailed by Dr. Lord, are already attempting to galvanize the carcase into the simulation of life. No, you must not disband. I say it, not in the way of fulsome praise, which I scorn and you disdain, but as a tribute to the grace of God, that during the whole thirty years in which you have collected and disbursed vast sums of money, no blot has come upon your Society by the malfeasance of any of your officers and co-workers. The apostacy of one of your original number has allowed the world to see that you are men and not angels, and that there has been no pot of apothecary's ointment compounded, thus far in history, in which some dead fly has not sent forth a stinking savor. The defection alluded to was due, not to the nature of your influence, but to the leprous effect of a pro-slavery Church which poisons all it touches. While many so-called *religious* organizations and benevolent associations have developed scoundrelism in their management which has sent some of the guilty into disgrace, and ought to have sent many more after them, your Society, as an almoner, has been above suspicion. While whole Churches have gone into open apostacy by taking sides with the oppressor, and justifying the system which violates every precept of the decalogue, you, who have never called yourselves "the Church," have remained faithful to God and his Christ, and the interests of Christian morality. Thus you furnish to the men of candor and of thought the best type of a Christian Church which the world now sees—a Church without a dominating priesthood and a procrustean creed, but whose members are all free from the restraints and traditions of men, and are kings and priests unto God. If you had your monthly meetings scattered throughout the country, where it was known that honest, earnest and intelligent men met for counsel and coöperation, they would furnish a home for those who, disgusted with the hypocrisy and treason of so many of the ecclesiastical organizations, are now in the condition of Noah's dove, which found no rest for the sole of her foot. Would it not be well to make this a topic of discussion at Philadelphia? Bring on Theodore Weld, and Theodore Tilton, and Gerrit Smith, and the other Good Samaritans of the day, who rejoice in the freedom wherewith Christ has made them free, and instead of two days, spend a whole week in council. What a blessing to those of us who will form the audience, to hear the illustrious men of your Society speak on the signs of the times, and give their opinions as to what Christianity and our country now require at our hands. Most appropriately was it at *Philadelphia* where your Society of brotherly love was organized to break the bonds of the slave. Most appropriately will it be the place for assembling all the liberators together to devise means for liberating the consciences and intellects of men everywhere.

Sincerely your friend and fellow laborer, R. S. D.

[It is due to our readers that they should know that "R. S. D." is a clergyman of unimpeachable orthodoxy.—Editor.]

THE SIGNERS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS.

THE Convention which formed the American Anti-Slavery Society assembled in Philadelphia, Dec. 4th, 1833, and continued in session three days. A memorable DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS was unanimously adopted by the Convention, engrossed upon parchment, and signed by the members in the following order:

Maine.	Lewis Tappan,
David Thurston,	John Rankin,
Nathan Winslow,*	William Green, Jr.,
Joseph Southwick,	Abraham L. Cox,
James F. Otis,†	William Goodell,
Isaac Winslow.	Elizur Wright, Jr.,
New Hampshire.	Charles W. Denison,‡
David Cambell.*	George Bourne,*
Vermont.	John Frost.*
Orson S. Murray.	*New Jersey.*
Massachusetts.	Jonathan Parkhurst,*
David S. Southmayd,*	Chalkley Gillingham,
Effingham L. Capron,*	James White.*
Joshua Coffin,	*Pennsylvania.*
Amos A. Phelps,*	Evan Lewis,*
John G. Whittier,	Edwin A. Atlee,*
Horace P. Wakefield,	Robert Purvis,
James G. Barbadoes,*	James McCrummell,
David T. Kimball, Jr.,*	Thomas Shipley,
David E. Jewett,	Bartholomew Fussell,
John Reid Cambell,	Enoch Mack.
Nathaniel Southard,*	John McCollough,
Arnold Buffum,*	James M. McKim,
William Lloyd Garrison.	Aaron Vickers,
Rhode Island.	James Loughhead,
John Prentice,	John R. Sleeper,
George W. Benson,	Thomas Whitson,
Ray Potter.*	Edwin P. Atlee,*
Connecticut.	John Sharp, Jr.,
Samuel Joseph May,	David Jones,
Alpheus Kingsley,	Lucas Gillingham,
Edwin A. Stillman,	James Mott,
Simeon S. Jocelyn,	Sumner Stebbins.
Robert Bernard Hall,	*Ohio.*
New York.	John M. Sterling,
Beriah Green,	Milton Sutliff,
	Levi Sutliff.

The names of those who have since deceased are marked with an asterisk, as far as we know; but it is probable that the list is incomplete, and we shall be obliged to any one who can make it entirely accurate. Indeed, it is very desirable that the place of birth, and the age of each at the time of signing the Declaration, of those whose names are appended to this historic instrument, should be furnished—in season, if possible, for the approaching celebration.

†Mr. Otis openly repudiated his signature in 1835.

‡Mr. Denison apostatized from the cause about 1850, becoming a supporter of Webster and the Fugitive Slave law, and subsequently voting for Frank Pierce, from whom he received office as a reward for his treachery.

PHOTOGRAPHS—large size—of the following persons for sale at this office, price 75 cents:

THEODORE D. WELD,
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,
OLIVER JOHNSON,
THEODORE TILTON.

The likenesses are pronounced excellent—that of Mr. Weld especially.

WOMEN'S PETITION FOR EMANCIPATION.

WE give below the form of petition adopted by the Women's National Loyal League. If any of our readers are not otherwise supplied, they can copy this on a sheet of paper and commence at once the work of obtaining signatures.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

(Men)

The Undersigned, Women of the United States above the age of eighteen years, earnestly pray that your Honorable Body will pass, at the earliest practicable day, an Act emancipating all Persons of African decent held to involuntary service or labor in the United States.

Name. | *Residence.*

When the sheet is filled, add others of the same width to the foot of it, with paste or mucilage. The signatures should be by the persons themselves, or else written at their request. Add, at close of each petition, the number of signatures contained, and name of Town, County and State whence it comes. Return to Women's National Loyal League, 20 Cooper Institute, New York.

N.B.—As this petition will not be presented till after next December 12, all who will then be eighteen years old have a right to sign it.

ENTHUSIASM IN THE WEST.—The Methodist ministers and editors of Chicago are recommending the Emancipation petitions to the special attention of their denomination. Each minister of the city has pledged himself to preach a sermon on the duty of Congress to pass an act of immediate emancipation, and to circulate the petition in his congregation. *The Northwestern Christian Advocate* and the Chicago *Christian Times* have published the petition and called on the ministers throughout the West to aid the work. One appeal closes thus: "Brethren, Pastors of the Churches, 'Help those women'—the women of the Loyal National League"; let the Pulpit and religious Press do so everywhere.

Mary Grew, of Philadelphia, writing to S. B. A., says: "I regard this work of moving Congress, by petition or otherwise, as the last great act of our anti-slavery enterprise—the decree of universal emancipation as THE work of the hour for Abolitionists. And I rejoice that the Women's Loyal League has set itself to the task, and that our American A. S. Society is about to summon its agents into the field to make a mighty, and, as we trust, a last effort for this end. I shall be *especially* busy until after our Decade meeting; but, though even then, I look for no leisure, I must make anything which I can do in this department of our cause my chief work Verily, the end is nigh; the victory at hand. I can scarcely believe it, cannot realize it."

THE BLAIR INTRIGUE.

THE result of the elections in Missouri and Maryland has brought the Blair family to grief. That they had formed a scheme to control the Administration in their own personal interest and in the name of "Conservatism," there is too much reason to believe. The defeat of the Radicals in the States above named having been a condition indispensable to the success of the plot, they are now completely unhorsed, and must take their choice between going over to the Copperheads and behaving themselves decently hereafter. The following extracts from the correspondence of the Cincinnati *Gazette* embody, we believe, the essential truth:

"Whether justly or not, General Blair was very strongly suspected of a desire to dictate terms to the Administration party of the House—to say, 'Here am I, gentlemen, standing on a Conservative platform, opposing the Radicals of Missouri, indorsing my brother's attack on the Radicals of Maryland, opposed to immediate emancipation and in favor of the reconstruction of the Union as it was (which means with slavery restored to all its ancient privileges); commit yourself and the party of the government to my platform by electing me Speaker; or I throw myself into the opposition, am elected Speaker in spite of you, and organize the House in the interest of those who elect me.' Such journals as the New York *Herald* openly avowed the scheme, championed the general, and proclaimed him the master of the situation. Numerous circumstances confirmed the suspicion that he had been consulted with reference to the plan and had given it at least a qualified assent.

"Under these circumstances Mr. Montgomery Blair came to ask, in behalf of his brother, what the President preferred to have him do—take his seat in Congress or remain in the field. Mr. Lincoln shrewdly received this as putting

Surely after the sacrifice of three hundred thousand lives, and many millions of treasure, it ought to seem a very reasonable and just demand that the Constitution be now amended as explicitly in the interest of liberty as in the beginning it was proposed that it should be in behalf of slavery. The next Congress should give us a *General Emancipation Act*, and the *initiatory measures for an amendment of the Constitution*. It will do as much if the people call for it in earnest.

I wish to express grateful acknowledgments to our friends among your readers whose hospitality and kind cooperation we enjoyed during the recent series of meetings in Washington County. We are especially indebted to JOSEPH W. PECKHAM and family, of Easton.

AARON M. POWELL.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 22, 1863.

MR. SEWARD'S speech at Gettysburg is regarded by many persons here as giving evidence of a disposition to correct his previous utterances at Auburn, or possibly it was meant to convince the anti-slavery people of the country that the inferences they drew from the Auburn speech were wrong. This certainly is a very wholesome sentence: "I thank my God that I believe this strife is going to end in the removal of that evil which ought to have been removed by peaceful means and by deliberate counsels." Of course, if Mr. Seward thanks God for such a result, he will not interpose any act of his own to prevent it. After reading this speech at Gettysburg I come to the conclusion that Mr. Seward is a very singular man, and that it is very difficult to find out just what his real opinions are upon the slavery question. He has very warm personal friends in this city, who are anti-slavery in their sentiments, and they assert roundly that Mr. Seward is as warmly opposed to the institution of slavery as he ever was, even at the time when he delivered the famous Washington speech. Then, on the other hand, there are pro-slavery people here who feel so confident of their great friend the Secretary of State that they assert their entire willingness to leave the settlement of the slavery question with him. They are satisfied that he is "Conservative" in his views. There can be not a particle of doubt that somebody is cheated by Mr. Seward. Is it the Radicals or the Conservatives? It would not surprise me in the least if it were the Conservatives. Mr. Seward is a diplomatist at all times. Even the Rochester speech came from the lips of a shrewd political diplomatist, and not from an earnest man's heart. He never speaks on any question, as Mr. Sumner does, following his principles wherever they lead, but he "calculates" how much truth it is prudent to utter, and how much chaff is needed.

Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward are on the most intimate terms of friendship, and *they understand each other*. Now, if Mr. Lincoln is heartily and honestly an Emancipationist, *so is Mr. Seward*. The two men are acting together, though it is quite possible that they may not agree in their published views at any given moment. Mr. Seward is in favor of the nomination of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency as his own successor, and he will stand by the Emancipation proclamation if Mr. Lincoln does. There can be no question on this point so far as Mr. Lincoln is concerned, for he has pledged himself very strongly on the subject. But if the President, in all the rebel States, is going to pursue his Missouri policy, he will build up a pro-slavery sentiment, or rather support the pro-slavery sentiment that is existing in those States, and make it so strong that emancipation will be impossible, and when the war ends he can plead inability to enforce the proclamation. This *may* be—is the great danger in the future, but I don't think it *possible* that so fair and honest a man as Mr. Lincoln is will ever consent to the continuance of slavery in those States where he has declared it to be overthrown. The Gettysburg speech from Mr. Seward is encouraging not only in reference to himself, but also in reference to the President.

Postmaster-General Blair has kept very quiet since the Maryland election. I think he was a good deal shocked by that event, and he will have to consider it for some time before he comes out with another speech. And then, too, "brother Frank" has slipped up on his Senatorial scheme in Missouri. With all his faults "Frank" is the flower of the family. He is blunt, coarse, sometimes brutal, but he is warm-hearted, generous, and is not mean or underhanded in his ways. *Personally* I must confess that I have always liked Gen. Blair. It is not so with Montgomery, the Postmaster. He is not generous in his views, but is narrow and conceited, but makes up in energy what he lacks in brains. One of the Blair family, some time ago, made the remark, "When *we* fight it is for a funeral," and it will be found to be so in this case. It does not take a vast amount of shrewdness to single out the victims, in this "fight," who will be entitled to funeral honors.

The N. Y. *Herald*, in its Washington correspondence, denies the truth of an account of an interview between Mr. Forney and the President in reference to Mr. Blair's Rockville speech, which was first sent to the Cincinnati *Gazette* and afterwards republished in many other journals. I have reason to believe that Mr. Blair prompted the denial, and yet am assured that the original statement is correct. When Mr. Blair *openly* denies the allegation, it will be time enough to demand the proof; certainly no one will take the denial of *The Herald* as of any particular importance.

The public doubtless is looking with considerable anxiety for the message of the President to Congress. There is a strong desire that the President should explain himself fully and frankly on many of the controverted questions of the hour in this speech, but I do not believe he will do so. It is unlike him. If he is not timid, he is cautious, and he means to stand before the people as a sort of compromise candidate between the Radicals and the Conservatives of his own party. But is not Mr. Lincoln overlooking one very important fact—that in revolutionary times the Radicals almost always triumph? I think he is. Why, here is *The National Republican*, a staunch friend of the President, not a *Radical* newspaper by any means, or at least not audaciously so, which in its prospectus for 1864 talks in this manner:

"Politically *The Republican* will support as earnestly as possible the civil and military policy of the present Administration, while that policy is for FREEDOM in its broadest and highest sense, and *against slavery. When the present, or any other Administration, pursues a different course on the question of human slavery, we shall oppose it with our might and main, God helping us*, PATRONAGE OR NO PATRONAGE."

This is what a cautious sheet says to this Administration, and it is a sign of the times. Mr. Lincoln may, like other men, make a great mistake in measuring the anti-slavery strength of the country, and if he does, another person, whose name I will not write, will reap the benefit of his blunder. It is a little singular that when Mr. Lincoln goes off anywhere, it is the Conservative members of his Cabinet who accompany him. This time Messrs. Blair, Seward and Usher were his companions. Messrs. Chase, Stanton and Welles remained at their posts. One rarely meets Mr. Seward with Mr. Chase, except at their respective offices. The President and Mr. Stanton may be a little more intimate, but the Secretary of War is Radical in his notions. He can't well help it, for he is a wide-awake personage. I have written many things against Mr. Stanton, for I dislike his rough treatment of men who deserve courtesy at his hands. I dislike anything that smacks of tyranny, but Mr. Stanton, I am compelled to say, stands up like a rock for his principles. He sees clearly enough how this war should end—how it will end. Slavery will be rooted up, and therefore he would shape his policy *now* to that end.

We have two clergymen in Washington, at the present time, who are faithful to anti-slavery principles. Perhaps there are others (and I presume there are), but I can say of my own knowledge that the Rev. Mr. Channing of the Unitarian Church, and the Rev. Dr. Sunderland of the New School Presbyterian Church, are thorough in their presentation of anti-slavery truths from the pulpit. Dr. Channing returns from Europe greatly encouraged. He preaches to full houses. I am glad to write that the places left vacant in Dr. Sunderland's church by pro-slavery members are rapidly filling up with anti-slavery men. One Northern gentleman took a pew not long since, and paid $750 for it for the next year, for the sole purpose of aiding the Church. It is now beyond danger, and this Winter it will be crowded.

There is little to be said respecting the military situation this morning. I find that Burnside is in an unpleasant position—to speak quietly. He is a noble man, but not a brilliant general. He may hold his own, however, and the officials at the War Department represent that his strength is such as to enable him to repel an assaults that may be made upon him. But I will not speculate upon results which will soon be known.

Gen. Meade is moving, and we have a right to expect good news from him erelong. We may be disappointed, however, as Meade is a very timid, cautious and hesitating general. He is not another McClellan, for he is loyal to the core, and he has shown that he can, if he will, pursue an enemy with rapidity and courage. McClellan *never* did. Meade is as good a man as Mr. Lincoln can command. It is claimed that Sedgwick is a better, but it did not appear at Fredericksburg, nor on the banks of the upper Potomac, when he counselled Meade not to attack the retreating Lee.

AVON.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, November 23d, 1863.

THE Legislature of Massachusetts, after an extra session of seven or eight days, adjourned on Wednesday, the 18th inst. The principal business transacted was the arrangement of bounties and payment to volunteers under the President's last call. Each volunteer has the option of receiving $325 in hand, or else $50 in hand and $20 monthly pay, these being additional to the bounty and pay offered by the United States. The monthly allowance is to be continued for six months in case of the soldier's honorable discharge for disability, or paid to his widow or heirs for the same period in case of his death.

The bill providing for payment to the 54th and 55th regiments, of the amounts withheld from them under an unjust decision of the War Department, became a law; and the following resolution, on the same subject, was passed.

Resolved, That the non-commissioned officers and privates of the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth regiments of Massachusetts volunteers are soldiers in fact, and in the duty they owe to the government; they constitute part of the quota of this Commonwealth; many of them are citizens of Massachusetts; they bear the uniform and equipments of the United States; they illustrate the virtues and they are entitled to the rewards of national troops. The refusal to these regiments of the usual pay and allowances of soldiers has put upon them a wrong which they keenly feel, it touches the honor of their superior officers, discourages enlistments under the policy which called them into the field, and is detrimental to the service. While Massachusetts has undertaken to repair this injustice to a portion of her military contingent, she does so declaring that this duty belongs to the National government and should be immediately assumed.

Thus Massachusetts performs her duty to the colored soldiers who have gone to fight her battles. It is greatly to be wished that the President would do *his* duty to the vastly larger number of colored people whose destiny, yes, whose life or death, are now waiting upon his will. In some few instances, as in the movement now carried on by Major Stearns in Tennessee, judicious aid is given to all classes of these people. Not only are their able-bodied men incorporated with the army, and assured as far as may be of just and kind treatment while they act in that capacity, but the infirm and aged, the women and children receive assistance; and this not mere temporary charity, but counsel and help towards putting them in a self-supporting position. The few cases, I say, in which such wise and beneficent provision is made, are cases in which the particular officer's own heart prompts him to such efforts. But if the President's own heart were in this work—if he cared to have these people not only receive their present right of individual freedom, but to have them commence a career of progressive prosperity in freedom—some care of this sort, some vigor of movement in this direction, would be required of every officer to whom the supervision of Southern blacks is committed.

While the arrangements of the kind in question continue to be neglected, the vast amount of suffering now existing among the colored people West and South is likely to increase as the cold weather increases. And, meantime, the Copperhead press is pointing to this distress as the result of an "abolition policy," instead of confessing the manifest truth that it proceeds from failure to adopt such a policy; failure to follow up the proclamation with civil and military provisions suited to render it effective; failure to intrust the execution of it to officers friendly to that policy; failure to arouse confidence and self-respect in the colored soldiers by giving them equality of position and treatment with others; failure to attend to the just and reasonable demands made in their behalf by their officers; and, above all, from failure of the Executive to address the colored people *directly* with those few words of official recognition, encouragement and assurance, which would immediately enlist the enthusiasm of them all, North and South, in favor of the United States, and in opposition to the rebellion.

As soon as the Legislature adjourned, Gov. Andrew issued a proclamation describing the provisions newly made for the benefit of volunteers and their families, and making earnest appeal to Massachusetts men to do promptly and vigorously their part in the present crisis. The Mayor of this city issued his call to the same effect, and the work of recruiting at once commenced with vigor. Rallying meetings were held in all the Wards, and in each a committee of twenty was chosen to act in concert with the members of the City Council. There is no doubt but Massachusetts will speedily raise her quota, and Boston her share of it.

At the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Teachers' Association, now in session in this city, one of the questions for discussion is—What kind of instruction in schools will best increase the loyalty and patriotism of the American people? As another similar sign of the times here, I may mention that a sermon was preached in one of our churches last evening on "Amusements in Hospitals," inculcating one of the duties which our quiet and prosperous community owes to those who have gone out to fight its battles. Men who are recovering from wounds or sickness in the military hospitals must often find the time of their detention dragging wearily. A certain class of the friends of the soldier give assiduous attention to the work of tract distribution, and a few of the publications of this class have interest enough to cause them to be read, in the absence of other literature. But the convalescent soldiers need, and should receive, a good supply of more attractive and more useful reading; and Abolitionists should give special attention to the supply of this want in the case of the colored regiments, both officers and men. Interesting books, new and old, current newspapers, and especially anti-slavery pamphlets and newspapers, would find a hearty welcome in the camps and hospitals, and would probably produce more effect there than upon other classes of readers. If there are subscribers to THE STANDARD whose papers, after the first reading, are allowed to lie useless, or to be destroyed, such waste should be stopped forthwith. Let every such person apply such papers to the soldiers' use, as soon as his own family has read them. A two-cent stamp will carry two papers of the size of THE STANDARD in one envelope; and if the donor knows no officer or soldier to whom to direct them, let him direct to some military hospital, and they cannot fail to be of service.

A great Fair for the benefit of the Sanitary Commission is shortly to be held in the Music Hall, the use of which has been gratuitously given by the proprietors for that purpose. In fact it is better for these same proprietors that the performances of the great instrument should cease for a while, since the community has had nearly a surfeit of organ concerts at high prices. The manufacture and management of popular enthusiasm require as much skill as the manufacture and management of any musical instrument, and a declining enthusiasm rarely recovers its healthy state. It was very well to make those who witnessed the inauguration of the organ pay three dollars for that privilege. But when two more three-dollar concerts were announced to be given within a week, thousands of those who had originally been eager to go, and to go soon, became content to wait. And when it was found that even the rich did not go in numbers sufficient to fill the house, all the more were the waiters content to wait; for it holds true of concert houses as of theatres, that nothing so strongly attracts people to go as the assurance that the crowd is so great that they cannot possibly get in.

The key of disparaging criticism, being once struck, is easily repeated and echoed. Many are finding courage to say, with a critic in *The Commonwealth* newspaper, that, however fine the tones of the great organ may be, its colossal dimensions deform rather than adorn the finely proportioned hall. Tastes, however, will differ upon this point as upon others. The next display of the instrument will take place under the auspices of the Handel and Haydn Society, who have never until now had a first class organ to lead their oratorios.

The Parker Fraternity Committee give notice, this evening, that the speaker announced in their programme will be unable to give the lecture that was expected of him to-morrow evening. The experience of the Committee, this year, illustrates the power of circumstances to baffle the most careful prearrangement. They had an admirable list of lecturers engaged, but unforeseen events, partly of a public, partly of a private nature, have prevented three of the most attractive from appearing.

NORTH.

AFFAIRS IN MISSOURI.—The Radicals of Missouri naturally felt some repugnance to voting for Mr. Henderson as U. S. Senator, the course of that gentlemen in regard to the bogus ordinance for the abolition of slavery, the removal of Gen. Curtis, etc., having been very distasteful to them. Their repugnance was overcome, however, when Mr. Henderson voluntarily placed himself on the right platform. The Jefferson City correspondent of the St. Louis *Democrat* says:

"Before the coalition was effected between the Henderson and Brown men, a committee of conference, which was appointed by the Radical caucus, obtained from him the declaration that he would hereafter, in the Senate of the United States or out of it, support the Administration of Mr. Lincoln in all measures to sustain the government, Emancipation proclamation and arming of negroes included."

The same writer adds that Mr. Henderson's friends in the Legislature will support the bill providing for a new Constitutional Convention, with a view to the immediate abolition of slavery in Missouri.

The united Copperheads and Conservatives are said to be making desperate efforts to throw out a sufficient number of the votes cast in the recent election by soldiers to overcome the majority for the Radical ticket. We trust their efforts will fail.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for December (Boston, Ticknor and Fields) is rather above than below its usual standard of excellence. It contains, "The Man without a Country," by Edward Everett Hale; "The Birds of Killingworth," a poem, by H. W. Longfellow; "Literary Life in Paris—the Garret"; "The Great Air-Engine," by the author of "Life in the Iron Mills"; "A Loyal Woman's No," a poem; "Eugene Delacroix," by W. J. Stillman; "Sympathetic Lying"; "Something about Bridges," by H. T. Tuckerman; "Internal Structure and Progression of the Glazier," by Louis Agassiz; "In an Attic," a poem, by Mrs. Akers; "Longfellow," by G. W. Curtis; "Letter to a Peace Democrat," by Francis Wayland, Jr.; Reviews and Literary Notices.

THE CONTINENTAL MONTHLY for December (John F. Trow & Co., 50 Greene st.). *Contents:* "The Nation," by Hugh Miller Thompson; "Buckle, Draper, and a Science of History," by E. B. Freeland; "Diary of Francis Krasinska"; "The Sleeping Soldier," by Edward N. Pomeroy; "My Mission," by Ella Rodman; "Letter-Writing," by Park Benjamin"; "The Year," by W. H. Henderson; "The Great American Crisis, Part One," by Stephen Pearl Andrews; "Was he Successful?" by Richard B. Kimball; "Dead," by Anna Gray"; "Reconstruction," by Henry Everett Russell; "Virginia," by H. T. Tuckerman; "She Defines her Position," a poem, by Eliza S. Randolph; "Whiffs from my Meerschaum," by Lieut. R. Wolcott; "Literary Notices"; "Editor's Table."

OBITUARY.

DIED, on the 31st ult., at Terre Haute, Indiana, Mrs. CARRIE DICKERSON, wife of Levi W. Dickerson—formerly Miss Carrie H. Wise of Philadelphia, in the 28th year of her age.

She was a woman of great sensibility and a most loving heart. No appeal of distress, whether from bond or free, was ever made to her in vain. Her active interest in the anti-slavery cause will be well remembered by her large circle of friends and well-wishers in Philadelphia. For "Carrie Wise," as she used familiarly to be called, was widely known in and around that city, and the object of much affectionate interest. Her life was short but pure, and, in its measure, a useful one. This is the comfort of her friends who mourn her early departure.

A PHILADELPHIAN.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

ANOTHER BATTLE IN TENNESSEE.

Good news from Tennessee comes by way of Chattanooga. A battle, which was commenced on Monday by a reconnoissance in force, was continued next day, with the most gratifying results. The enemy, though resisting sturdily the advance of our forces, have been driven back. This comprises the pith of the very brief telegraphic announcement. The retirement of the rebel army in front of Gen. Grant tells all that we could wish of the success of Burnside's resistance to Longstreet. Though the telegraph is so indefinite that we cannot make out whether an advance of Gen. Thomas found the enemy ready to retire on the slightest occasion, or whether the previous retirement of the enemy led to the advance by Gen. Thomas and the occupation of ground recently within the enemy's lines, yet the news is sufficiently clear and satisfactory upon the general fact that the recent *status* is broken up.

Gen. Burnside on the 22d was still successfully holding Knoxville, and had assured the citizens that he would continue to do so. The rebel force was estimated at 36,000 strong. The rebels had withdrawn from the south side of the river. The artillery fighting on the 19th and 20th inst. was very severe. Brig.-Gen. Sanders, who was wounded on the 19th, has since died.

FROM THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

There were reports of a movement by Gen. Meade on Monday, but they were unfounded. Lee's army stretches from Madison Court-house to the line of the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railroad. One division of Ewell's corps occupies Fredericksburg. Lee is said to be preparing to go into Winter quarters.

FROM CHARLESTON.

On Tuesday, 17th inst., Gen. Gillmore for the third time, gave the city a foretaste of the judgment he is able to visit upon it by throwing twenty-one shells into the business portion of the place, nineteen of which exploded, doubtless causing a great deal of injury to property, if not to life. On Thursday he continued the bombardment by sending fifteen more of his destructive messengers right into the heart of the city, and not without destructive effect, if the sudden hoisting of a hospital flag by the rebels upon one of their prominent buildings be any indication. The firing against Fort Sumter is still continued, and the sea-wall of the work is said to be entirely destroyed, but that the rebels have still a hope of holding the ruins is pretty evident, if the report that they are constructing a bomb-proof in the midst of the wreck be correct.

THE EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, Nov. 20, 1863.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 17th has been received, in which you inquire whether any documents are now accessible, or will be likely soon to be published by our government relating to the exchange of prisoners of war; and you justly remark that the subject excites a deep interest in consequence of the sufferings of our men in Richmond.

The correspondence published in the Richmond papers does not, it is thought, present the matter in its true light. In a few days the entire correspondence will be made public here by authority.

There are several serious difficulties in the way of continuing an exchange of prisoners. One is the *bad faith* of the enemy in putting into active service many thousands of paroled prisoners, captured at Vicksburg and elsewhere, without releasing any of our soldiers held by them. But another difficulty of still graver importance is the *peremptory refusal by the enemy to exchange colored soldiers and their white officers upon any terms whatever.* It is well known that they have threatened to sell colored captured soldiers into slavery, and to hang their white officers.

The government demands that all officers and soldiers should be fairly exchanged, otherwise no more prisoners of war will be given up. The faith of the government is pledged to these officers and troops that they shall be protected, and it cannot and will not abandon to the savage cruelty of slave-masters a single officer or soldier who has been called on to defend the flag of his country, and thus exposed to the hazards of war.

It has been suggested that exchanges might go on until all except the colored troops and their white officers have been given up. But if this were allowed the rebels would not only be relieved of the burden of maintaining our troops, but they would get back their own men, retaining their power over the very persons whom we are solemnly bound to rescue, and upon whom they could *then*, without fear of retaliation, carry into execution the inhuman cruelties they have so basely threatened.

The President has ordered that the stern law of retaliation shall without hesitation be enforced, to avenge the death of the first Union soldier of whatever color, whom the enemy shall in cold blood destroy, or sell into slavery. All other questions between us may be postponed for future settlement, but the fair exchange of colored soldiers and of their white officers will be insisted on by the government before another rebel soldier or officer will be exchanged.

The sufferings of our men in Richmond are the subject of deep regret and sympathy here; and there has been no want of effort to afford all possible relief.

Very truly yours, WILLIAM WHITING.

The Army and the Negroes.

"EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

THE RHODE ISLAND COLORED ARTILLERY REGIMENT.

Rhode Island has a regiment of colored artillery defending Dutch Island in Narragansett Bay. A few days since, a company, embracing the Governor of the State and his staff, the Lieut.-Governor, members of the Legislature, the President of Brown University, members of the city government of Providence and Newport, U. S. Senator Anthony, Bishop Clark and other distinguished clergymen, etc.—some two or three hundred in all—made an excursion to the island, in the steamer Montpelier, for the purpose of reviewing the regiment and presenting to it a flag. The troops being massed in front of Gov. Smith, he produced a magnificent silk flag, trimmed with golden fringe, and bearing upon its folds the designation of the regiment, and presenting the standard to Col. Viall, he said:

Col. Viall, Officers and Men of the Fourteenth:

It affords me much pleasure to present to your Regiment, our Fourteenth "Corps d'Afrique," this flag, and I feel confident it will be entrusted to as brave men as ever entered the service in defence of our country and its liberties. And I feel assured that but one thought will occupy the mind of every man in the Regiment, and that thought is, *our country.* Let this flag be your beacon light, its stars ever to shine. I now surrender it to your keeping. Let its history be Rhode Island's history.

Col. Viall made a suitable response on behalf of the regiment, and then followed speeches by U. S. Senator Anthony, Bishop Clark, Rev. Dr. Hall, Rev. Dr. Sears (President of Brown University), and Rev. Dr. Swain.

Senator Anthony was happy to add his congratulations to those whose praises on military matters were so much more valuable than his own. The exhibition which they had made of discipline, of drill, of orderly and soldierly conduct, would do credit to any body of men in any service. He had not doubted, from the beginning, that, in this war, the African race would vindicate its manhood, and silence, by its deeds, the sneers of its enemies. He had never doubted the courage, the fidelity or the patriotism of the men whose ancestors had mingled their blood with ours at Red Bank, and, with irresistible fury, three times, hurled back the Hessian charge on yonder island; who received the thanks of Jackson at New Orleans, and whose deeds at Milliken's Bend and Port Hudson were fresh in the recollection of every loyal man. A colored regiment in Rhode Island was no new thing in history. It had not a name to make for itself, but the more difficult duty of maintaining a name glorious with ancestral memories. It is nigh upon one hundred years since the Rhode Island colored regiment, under Col. Christopher Greene, as brave a man as ever drew a sword (his great-grandson was present, one of the officers of the Governor's staff), received the praises of Washington. Three generations have gone by, and now another regiment goes forth to help defend the inheritance which Washington left us, and which their ancestors helped ours to achieve. It goes forth under the most favorable auspices. It has received from the Governor and the State the same aid and encouragement that were extended to the white regiments. He thought he risked nothing in saying that it would receive equal justice from the President and the Federal government. And when this war is ended, when the foulest treason that ever blackened a land has been crushed, then their race and ours will together enjoy the rights that both have confirmed, and the privileges that one has acquired. The man who has worn the uniform of the United States, who has followed the stars and stripes to the field of battle, can never be a slave; but throughout our broad land, every man made in the image of his Creator would stand forth in the liberty with which his Creator had endowed him.

The Rt. Rev. Bishop Clark congratulated the soldiers of the Corps d'Afrique on the position which they held that day. It is a distinguished honor to belong to such a regiment as this, the 14th in the order of place which has been furnished by Rhode Island to the war, but inferior to none in the standard of physical soundness and ability. You stand in these ranks, not because you have been drafted by the civil authority, but as volunteers, as men who have willingly offered themselves to save and redeem their country. For, hereafter, this will be your country as well as ours, and your right to all its privileges and immunities will be amply vindicated. The Bishop pleasantly mentioned that once in a prayer-meeting held by certain slaves at the South, one of the speakers reminded his brethren that for several weeks they had neglected in their services to remember the white element in society. It may be that the white element is comparatively losing caste and the colored element coming to the surface. Perhaps we have had our turn long enough, and you have only to show yourselves competent to compete with others, in order to secure your true position as American citizens. You have enlisted in a great and holy cause. It is not merely the Union of our country that is at stake, it is not merely the question of slavery or freedom that you are to determine; you now go forth to fight the great battle of civilization, to settle the question whether the human race, yours and ours, on this continent shall go backward or forwards. We gladly welcome your aid in this mighty struggle, and may God grant that when you return to us, with that beautiful banner, to-day so fresh and fair, torn and riddled by hostile shot and crimsoned with the blood of its brave defenders, we may hold our jubilee over a nation redeemed from traitorous rebellion and consecrated as the home of universal freedom.

The Rev. Dr. Hall said:—It is a happy day when, in the name of religion and loyalty, we of different races, as men say, can greet each other, as of one nation and one interest. In the war which summons you here, you of all men have a vital concern. You well know how closely you are connected with the origin and cause of the conflict, and you are here to do what you can to guide it to an issue alike glorious for us all—Freedom!

The Rev. Dr. Sears, President of Brown University, said:—The race in whose hands the National government now is, cannot longer maintain its freedom without procuring that of the colored race; and you cannot obtain freedom for your people without helping us maintain ours. The Rev. Doctor did not care to speak of the equality of the races or of the superiority of one over the other. Let that question be settled by the parties at their leisure as other races do. The English and the French have their notions on that point. In a steamer crossing the English channel, an Englishman after discoursing at length upon this subject, closed by saying, "I thank God that I am an Englishman." A Frenchman sitting by replied, "I tank God dat you am an Englishman, too." That is the philosophical way of settling such questions of the races. The great contest in which we are all engaged is, whether a human being is, as such, to be free. This is now the practical issue. The whole civilized world is watching the progress of the conflict and looking for the probable result with an interest more universal and more intense than was ever felt in such a case before. The well-being and progress of mankind are, in an important respect, committed to our keeping. Others can only be interested spectators. Our action alone will for ages at least decide the grand question of human liberty. Let us meet the crisis. Let us work together on this battle-ground of freedom till the victory is achieved and our liberty,—the liberty of us all—is established.

The Rev. Dr. Swain said:—The scenes of to-day take the darkness from our Declaration of Independence, reaffirm it, and hold it up in lines of living light. It is our chains, said he, that are broken to-day, as well as yours. Liberty has been accomplished here on this unbloody field, as truly as it can be gained upon the sodden soil of the rebellious South.

ENLISTING COLORED TROOPS IN NEW YORK.

From The Evening Post.

In response to a call signed by Peter Cooper, Gen. Sickles, and many other well-known gentlemen, a large meeting of prominent citizens of New York was held recently at Clinton Hall to take measures for the encouragement of volunteering, including the enlistment of colored troops in this city and State. Gen. Strong was called to the chair, and made a patriotic speech, urging the duty of the nation not only to employ the means at its command for the suppression of the rebellion, but to secure justice to all men, black or white, who were fighting in the ranks. The following resolutions were eloquently supported by the General and unanimously adopted by the meeting:

Resolved, First, That this meeting appoint a committee of twenty-five to take measures to encourage enlistments, and help to fill, by all honorable means, the quota of the State of New York by volunteers.

Second, That as the Governor has refused to raise, or authorize to raise, colored troops in this State, this committee be requested to appoint a sub-committee to proceed immediately to Washington, and ask the President to raise colored troops to be credited to the quota of this State.

Third, That this committee be instructed to call a mass meeting, as soon as arrangements can be made, to take measures to carry forward our object.

Adjutant Haggerty followed. He denounced Gov. Seymour, and in the name of Irishmen claimed that the Bradys and Meaghers were the best exponents of Irish sentiments. The Adjutant had proved his devotion by fighting under the stars and stripes. Rev. H. H. Garnett, pastor of the Shiloh (colored) congregation, made the next speech. He pledged black men to do their utmost with proper encouragement, to put down the rebellion, and referred to their enlistment from this city in Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island regiments. Col. Shannon, Mr. H. O'Reilly, and others, also made speeches, when a committee of twenty-five was appointed under the resolution. Peter Cooper was made chairman of the committee, and the meeting adjourned.

ENLISTMENTS IN MISSOURI.

Gen. Schofield has issued an order, under date St. Louis, Nov. 14, from which we copy as follows:

Whereas, The exigencies of the war require that colored troops should be recruited in the State of Missouri, the following regulations having been approved and ordered by the President, will govern the recruiting service for colored troops in Missouri, viz:

I. All able bodied colored men, whether free or slaves, will be received into the service; the loyal owners of slaves enlisted being entitled to receive compensation as hereinafter provided.

II. All persons enlisted into the service shall forever thereafter be free.

V. The owner of every slave recruited into the service shall receive from the recruiting officer a certificate to that effect, together with a copy of the descriptive list of the person enlisted.

VI. A board, of three persons, is to be appointed by the President to whom the rolls and recruiting lists shall be furnished, for public information, and on demand exhibited to any person claiming under oath that his or her slave has been enlisted, and that he or she has not received a certificate and descriptive list, etc. Any such person shall also be permitted to inspect the recruits at any station, or at the general rendezvous, for the purpose of identification.

VII. If any person shall, within ten days after the filing of said rolls, make a claim for the service of any person so enlisted, the Board shall proceed to examine the proof of title, and, if valid, shall give a certificate of enlistment and descriptive list.

VIII. The Board shall award to the owner of each slave enlisted a just compensation for his services, not exceeding the sum of three hundred dollars, upon the presenting by said owner of the certificate of enlistment, and filing a valid deed of manumission, and of relief, and making satisfactory proof of title. *Provided:*

First. That no person who is, or has been engaged in rebellion against the government of the United States, or who has in any way given, or shall give aid or comfort to the enemies of the government, shall be awarded any compensation for the sevices of any slave enlisted into the service of the United States.

Second. That no compensation shall be awarded for the services of any slave who has *at any time* during the present rebellion, belonged to any person who has been in rebellion, or given aid or comfort to the enemies of the government.

Third. All claimants shall file with their claims an oath of allegiance to the government of the United States.

THE LABORS OF MAJOR STEARNS.

Intelligence from Nashville informs us that Maj. Geo. L. Stearns is organizing a negro regiment at Gallatin, another at Columbia, one at Murfreesboro, and one at Clarksville. He musters one hundred and two men into each company, including four experienced cooks. In six weeks he raised one full regiment, and six hundred men in another. Enlistments at Gallatin and Columbia, on the borders of Kentucky, somehow or other rope in a great many Kentucky slaves, and it is said to be quite difficult to distinguish them from the Tennessee article. Maj. Stearns is gradually being charged with the support of crowds of impoverished women and children who come within our lines. His purpose is to put them on abandoned rebel farms around Nashville.—*Wash. Cor. Times.*

FREDERICK DOUGLASS'S SONS.

Frederick Douglass, Jr., has enlisted in the 54th Massachusetts (colored) regiment, and will proceed immediately to the camp at Readville, Mass., where he will be engaged for the present in the recruiting service. He is the last of Mr. Douglass's sons remaining at home, both of his brothers, Lewis and Charles, having joined the 54th Mass., now stationed on Morris Island. Sergeant Lewis Douglass is at present at home, slowly recovering from a severe attack of typhoid fever, the result of the arduous service preliminary to the capture of Morris Island and the terrible assault on Fort Wagner.—*Syracuse Standard.*

DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF.

New Orleans, Nov. 13.—Adjt.-Gen. Thomas and Maj.-Gen. Wadsworth arrived in this city day before yesterday. The former has been visiting all the important points in Gen. Grant's department, and, indeed, all the military points in the Southwest, attending to and stimulating the recruitment and organization of colored troops. In this tour, which will close by an inspection of officers in this department, he has been eminently successful, and the future results arising from the employment of black troops, it is alleged, will be incalculable. Gen. Thomas has paid particular attention to the selection of officers for the various negro regiments, and particularly to the education, qualification and military standing of the field and staff officers. Since he has announced the intention of the government to make the colored troops an integral part of the regular force, thousands of educated officers have applied for commissions; so that the difficulty the government experienced a few months ago in obtaining officers for colored regiments has been entirely overcome, and a contrary state of affairs exists. Many important points along the Mississippi, from Cairo to New Orleans, viz: Columbus, Fort Randolph, Fort Pillow, Helena, Island No. 10, Lake Providence, Milliken's Bend, and Port Hudson, are garrisoned almost entirely by negro troops, and at other points the garrisons are adulterated with them. The number of negro troops actually under arms along the Mississippi is upwards of forty thousand. Additions to this number are being rapidly made.—*Cor. N. Y. Herald.*

OFFICERS EXAMINED FOR NEGRO REGIMENTS.

It is to be regretted that a less exacting examination of candidates for commissions in negro regiments prevails in Cincinnati, and in Tennessee and Louisiana, than in Washington. Some of the first appointees in the Southwest reëxamined here have been rejected. There is danger that the experiment of making soldiers of the slaves from the cotton and sugar estates in the Missisippi Valley will be one of very imperfect success. The Washington examinations are faithfully thorough. Up to the 21st of November 803 candidates have been before Casey's Board. Of these, have been accepted, 470; rejected, 390; declined examination, 1. The candidates who have successfully passed have been Colonels, 5; Lieutenant-Colonels, 8; Majors, 19; Captains, 83; First Lieutenants, 124; Second Lieutenants, 231. every one of these is *unquestionably* fit for the command given him. There were selected from commissioned officers, 84; privates and non-commissioned officers, 283; citizens, 103. Of the registered there were commissioned officers, 57; privates and non-commissioned officers, 200; citizens, 20. Among those who passed are, S. Fellows, First Lieutenant Fourteenth New Hampshire; S. A. Duncan, Major, Fourteenth New Hampshire; L. F. Haskell, Lieutenant and Aid-de-Camp; C. W. Fribly, Captain, Eighty-fourth Pennsylvania Volunteers; J. Shaw, citizen from Rhode Island.—*Wash. Cor. Times.*

Summary.

A distinguished Copperhead from New York, looking over the late Southern news, remarked bitterly, "I observe the Peace men have carried several districts in North Carolina. That is more than they can do in our State."

CRAWFORD'S GODDESS OF LIBERTY.—The first section of Crawford's colossal statue of the Goddess of Liberty was on Saturday hoisted to its position on the dome of the Capitol. It is in three sections. All will be in position by the meeting of Congress.

THE PECULIAR INSTITUTION IN MARYLAND.—A wealthy secesh slaveholder from one of the lower Counties of Maryland stated the other day that more than half the slaves in the Maryland Peninsula have already absconded or been recruited; and declares if recruiting be not stopped, slavery there will be defunct in three months. He mentions an instance where out of 321 slaves, only 83 remain, and these are old men and women and little children.

Among the treaties to come before the Senate for ratification is one made last Summer by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs with the Chiefs of the Creeks, by which those who joined the rebels are permitted to return to their allegiance, but are to be forever disqualified from holding offices of honor, emolument or trust among the Indians; and the treaty engages to abolish slavery, as the Cherokee Nation has done already, and to colonize freedmen on land belonging to the Creeks.

The Richmond papers are not in the habit of looking to the North or the East for the true light. Accordingly *The Sentinel* of that benighted city says: "No opportunity has ever yet been given to Maryland to rise." On the contrary the opportunity has been both given and accepted, and Maryland is rapidly rising out of the edge of the darkness that enveloped with impenetrable Egyptian gloom the States with which some of its blind citizens desired to maintain an unnatural and ruinous connection.—*Boston Transcript.*

A FALSE CHARGE.—Joseph Shuman and Edward Ludwick, privates in the 4th Maine Infantry, who were captured beyond Alexandria, have been tried and convicted on the charge of "nigger-stealing," and sentenced to three years imprisonment in the Penitentiary, where they are now confined at hard labor. The charge was without foundation, and the sentence unwarranted. The trial occurred in October, 1862, yet our authorities knew nothing of it until informed by Dr. Rucker.—*Wash. Cor. Tribune.*

Some of the students of the University of Michigan had the bad taste to pay Mr. Vallandigham a complimentary visit at Windsor, a few days since. In a speech he made to them, the great exile declared that "As there are hypocrites in the pulpit, empirics in medicine, pettifoggers at the bar, and pretenders everywhere, so there are demagogues in political life." A truism of which the students need not to have returned to the United States to find an illustration.

An old lady named Summerfield, residing in West Philadelphia, died on the 12th inst., at the age of one hundred years. She had worked for the government for sixty years, and lived in a tent, corner of Eighth and Vine streets. Her husband had enlisted in the United States service during its Indian wars in Florida. She went along with him, sewed up the soldiers' clothes, and assisted in every way

Miscellaneous Department.

OLD CHURCHES.

HAST been where the full-blossomed bay-tree is blowing
With odors like Eden around?
Hast seen where the broad-leaved palmetto is growing,
And wild vines are fringing the ground?
Hast sat in the shade of catalpas, at noon,
And ate the cool gourds of their clime;
Or slept where magnolias were screening the moon,
And the mocking-bird sung her sweet rhyme?

And didst mark in thy journey, at dew-dropping eve,
Some ruin peer high o'er thy way,
With rooks wheeling round it, and bushes to weave
A mantle for turrets so gray?
Did ye ask if some lord of the cavalier kind
Lived there, when the country was young?
And burned not the blood of a Christian, to find
How there the old prayer-bell had rung?

And did ye not glow when they told ye the LORD
Had dwelt in that thistle-grown pile;
And that bones of old Christians were under its sward,
That once had knelt down in its aisle?
And had ye no tear-drops your blushes to steep
When ye thought o'er your country so broad,
The bard seeks in vain for a mouldering heap,
Save only these churches of God?

O, ye that shall pass by those ruins again,
Go kneel in their alleys and pray,
And, not till their arches have echoed amen,
Rise up, and fare on in your way.
Pray God that those aisles may be crowded once more,
Those altars surrounded and spread,
While anthems and prayers are upsent as of yore,
As they take of the wine-cup and bread.

Ay, pray on thy knees, that each old rural fane
They have left to the bat and the mole
May sound with the loud-pealing organ again,
And the full-swelling voice of the soul.
Peradventure when next thou shalt journey thereby,
Even-bells shall ring out on the air,
And the dim-lighted windows reveal to thine eye
The snowy-robed pastor at prayer.

ARTHUR CLEVELAND COXE.

THE NATIONAL CEMETERY AT GETTYSBURG.

CEREMONIES OF DEDICATION.

[On Thursday, Nov. 19, the National Cemetery in which repose the remains of the brave men who fell in the battles of Gettysburg, was dedicated by appropriate exercises in the presence of a large concourse of people, among whom were the President of the United States, Secretary Seward, the Governors of many of the loyal States, and many other eminent citizens. The orator of the occasion was EDWARD EVERETT, the peroration of whose address will be found below.]

MR. EVERETT'S ADDRESS—THE PERORATION.

THE war can have no other termination compatible with the permanent safety and welfare of the country, but the complete destruction of the military power of the enemy. I have, on other occasions, attempted to show that to yield to his demands and acknowledge his independence, thus resolving the Union at once into two hostile governments, with a certainty of further disintegration, would annihilate the strength and the influence of the country, as a member of the family of nations; afford to foreign powers the opportunity and the temptation for disastrous and humiliating interference in our affairs; wrest from the Middle and Western States some of their great natural outlets to the sea, and some of their most important lines of internal communication; deprive the commerce and navigation of the country of two-thirds of our seacoast and of the fortresses which protect it; not only so, but would enable each individual State, some of them with a white population equal to a good-sized Northern county—or rather the dominant party in each State—to cede its territory, its harbors, its fortresses, the mouths of its rivers, to any foreign Power. It cannot be that the people of the loyal States—that twenty-two million of brave and prosperous freemen—will, for the temptation of a brief truce in an eternal border war, consent to this hideous national suicide. Do not think that I exaggerate the consequences of yielding to the demands of the leaders of the rebellion. I understate them. They require of us not only all the sacrifices I have named, not only to cede to them—a foreign and hostile power—all the territory of the United States at present occupied by the rebel forces, but the abandonment to them of the vast regions we have rescued from their grasp—of Maryland, of a part of Eastern Virginia and the whole of Western Virginia, the seacoast of North and South Carolina; Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri; Arkansas, and the larger portion of Mississippi and Louisiana; in most of which, with the exception of lawless guerillas there is not a rebel in arms; in all of which the great majority of the people are loyal to the Union. We must give back, too, the helpless colored population, thousands of whom are periling their lives in the ranks of our armies, to a bondage rendered tenfold more bitter, by the momentary enjoyment of freedom. Finally, we must surrender every man in the Southern country, white or black, who has moved a finger or spoken a word for the restoration of the Union, to a reign of terror as remorseless as that of Robespierre, which has been the chief instrument by which the rebellion has been organized and sustained, and has already filled the prisons of the South with noble men, whose only crime is that they are not traitors. The South is full of such men. I do not believe there has been a day since the election of President Lincoln, when, if an ordinance of secession could have been fairly submitted to the mass of the people, in any single Southern State, a majority of ballots would have been given in its favor. No, not in South Carolina. It is not possible that the majority of the people, even of that State, if permitted, without fear or favor, to give a ballot on the question, would have abandoned a leader like Petigru, and all the memories of the Gadsdens, the Rutledges, and the Cotesworth Pinckneys of the Revolutionary and Constitutional age, to follow the agitators of the present day. Nor must we be deterred from the vigorous prosecution of the war by the suggestion, continually thrown out by the rebels and those who sympathize with them, that however it might have been at an earlier stage, there has been engendered by the operations of the war a state of exasperation and bitterness, which, independent of all reference to the original nature of the matters in controversy, will forever prevent the restoration of the Union, and the return of harmony between the two great sections of the country. This opinion I take to be entirely without foundation. No man can deplore more than I do the miseries of every kind, unavoidably incident to war. Who could stand on this spot and call to mind the scenes of the 1-3 of July with any other feeling? A sad foreboding of what would ensue, if war should break out between North and South, has haunted me through life, and led me perhaps too long to tread in the path of hopeless compromise, in the fond endeavor to conciliate those who were pre-determined not to be conciliated. But it is not true, as is pretended by the rebels and their sympathizers, that the war has been carried on by the United States without entire regard to those temperaments which are enjoined by the law of nations, by our modern civilization, and by the spirit of Christianity. It would be quite easy to point out, in the recent military history of the leading European powers, acts of violence and cruelty, in the prosecution of their wars, to which no parallel can be found among us. In fact when we consider the peculiar bitterness with which civil wars are almost invariably waged, we may justly boast of the manner in which the United States have carried on the contest. It is of course impossible to prevent the lawless acts of stragglers and deserters, or the occasional unwarrantable proceedings of subordinates on distant stations; but I do not believe there is, in all history, the record of a civil war of such gigantic dimensions, where so little has been done in the spirit of vindictiveness, as in this war, by the government and commanders of the United States; and this notwithstanding the provocation given by the rebel government by assuming the responsibility of wretches like Quantrell, refusing quarter to colored troops, and scourging and selling into slavery free colored men from the North, who fall into their hands, covering the sea with pirates, and starving prisoners of war to death. In the next place, if there are any present who believe that, in addition to the effect of the military operations of the war, the Confiscation acts, and Emancipation proclamations have embittered the rebels beyond the possibility of reconciliation, I would request them to reflect, that the tone of the rebel leaders and rebel press was just as bitter in the first months of the war, nay before a gun was fired, as it is now. There were speeches made in Congress in the very last session before the rebellion, so ferocious, as to show that their authors were under the influence of a real frenzy. At the present day, if there is any discrimination made by the Confederate press in the affected scorn, hatred and contumely, with which every shade of opinion and sentiment in the loyal States is treated, the bitterest contempt is bestowed upon those at the North, who will speak the language of compromise, and who condemn those measures of the Administration, which are alleged to have rendered the return of peace hopeless. No, my friends, that gracious Providence which overrules all things for the best, from seeming evil still educing good, has so constituted our natures, that the violent excitement of the passions in one direction is generally followed by a reaction in an opposite direction, and the sooner for the violence. If it were not so, if anger produced abiding anger, if hatred caused undying hatred, if injuries inflicted and retaliated, of necessity led to new retaliations, with forever accumulating compound interest of revenge, then the world, thousands of years ago, would have been turned into an earthly hell, and the nations of the earth would have been resolved into clans of furies and demons, each forever warring with his neighbor. But it is not so, all history teaches a different lesson. The wars of the roses in England lasted an entire generation, from the battle of St. Albans in 1455 to that of Bosworth Field in 1485. Speaking of the former, Hume says: "This was the first blood spilt in that fatal quarrel, which was not finished in less than a course of 30 years; which was signalized by twelve pitched battles; which opened a scene of extraordinary fierceness and cruelty; is computed to have cost the lives of 80 princes of the blood; and almost entirely annihilated the ancient nobility of England. The strong attachments which, at that time, men of the same kindred bore to each other, and the vindictive spirit which was considered a point of honor, rendered the great families implacable in their resentments, and widened every moment the breach between the parties." Such was the state of things in England, under which an entire generation grew up; but when Henry VII., in whom the titles of the two houses were united, went up to London after the battle of Bosworth Field, to mount the throne, he was everywhere received with joyous acclamations, "as one ordained and sent from Heaven to put an end to the dissensions" which had so long afflicted the country. The great rebellion in England of the seventeenth century, after long and angry premonitions, may be said to have begun with the calling of the long Parliament in 1640, and to have ended with the return of Charles II. in 1660—twenty years of discord, conflict, and civil war; of confiscation, plunder, havoc; a proud hereditary peerage trampled in the dust; a National Church overturned, its clergy beggared, its most eminent prelate put to death; a military despotism established on the ruins of a monarchy which had subsisted seven hundred years, and the legitimate sovereign brought to the block; the great families which adhered to the king proscribed, impoverished, ruined; prisoners of war sold into slavery in the West Indies; in a word, everything that can embitter and madden contending factions. Such was the state of things for twenty years, and yet, by no gentle transition, but suddenly and "when the restoration of affairs appeared most hopeless," the son of the beheaded sovereign was brought back to his father's blood-stained throne, with such "unexpressible and universal joy" as led the merry monarch to exclaim, "He doubted it had been his own fault he had been absent so long, for he saw nobody who did not protest he had ever wished for his return." "In this wonderful manner," says Clarendon, "and with this incredible expedition did God put an end to a rebellion that had raged near twenty years, and had been carried on with all the horrid circumstances of murder, devastation, and parricide, that fire and sword, in the hands of the most wicked men in the world [it is a Royalist that is speaking] could be instruments of, almost to the desolation of two kingdoms, and the exceeding defacing and deforming of the third. By these remarkable steps did the merciful hand of God, in this short space of time, not only bind up and heal all those wounds, but even made the scar as undiscernible as, in respect of the deepness, was possible, which was a glorious addition to the deliverance." In Germany, the wars of the Reformation and of Charles V. in the 16th century, the thirty years' war in the 17th century, the seven years war in the eighteenth century, not to speak of other less celebrated contests, entailed upon that country all the miseries of intestine strife for more than three centuries. At the close of the last-named war, "An officer," says Archenholz, "rode through seven villages in the Heese and found in them but one human being." More than three hundred principalities, comprehended in the Empire, fermented with the fierce passions of proud and petty States; at the commencement of this period, the castles of robber-counts frowned upon every hill-top; a dreadful secret tribunal froze the hearts of men with terror throughout the land; religious hatred mingled its bitter poison in the seething cauldron of provincial animosity—but of all these deadly enmities between the States of Germany, scarcely the memory remains. There is no country in the world in which the sentiment of national brotherhood is stronger. In Italy, on the breaking up of the Roman Empire, society might be said to be resolved into its original elements; into hostile atoms, whose only movement was that of mutual repulsion. Ruthless barbarians had destroyed the old organizations and covered the land with a merciless feudalism. As the new civilization grew up, under the wing of the Church, the noble families and the walled towns fell madly into conflict with each other; the secular feud of Pope and Emperor scourged the land; province against province, city against city, street against street, waged remorseless war against each other from father to son, till Dante was able to fill his imaginary hell with the real demons of Italian history. So ferocious had the factions become, that the great poet-exile himself, the glory of his native city, and of his native language, was, by a decree of the municipality, ordered to be burned alive, if found in the City of Florence. But these deadly feuds and hatreds yielded to political influences, as the hostile cities were grouped into States under stable governments; the lingering traditions of the ancient animosities gradually died away, and now Tuscan and Lombard, Sardinian and Neapolitan, as if to shame the degenerate sons of America, are joining in one cry for a united Italy. In France, not to go back to the civil wars of the League in the sixteenth century, and of the Fronde in the seventeenth, not to speak of the dreadful scenes throughout the Kingdom which followed the revocation of the edict of Nantes—we have in the great revolution which commenced at the close of the last century seen the bloodhounds of civil strife let loose as rarely before in the history of the world. The reign of terror established at Paris stretched its bloody Briarean arms to every city and village in the land; and if the most deadly feuds which ever divided a people had the power to cause permanent alienation and hatred, this surely was the occasion. But far otherwise the fact. In seven years from the fall of Robespierre, the strong arm of the youthful conqueror brought order out of the chaos of crime and woe; Jacobins whose hands were scarcely cleansed from the best blood of France met the returning emigrants, whose estates they had confiscated, and whose kindred they had dragged to the guillotine in the imperial antechambers; and when, after another turn of the wheel of fortune, Louis XVIII. was restored to his throne, he took the regicide Fouché, who had voted for his brother's death, to his Cabinet and confidence. The people of loyal America will never take to their confidence, or admit again to a share in their government, the hard-hearted men, whose cruel lust of power has brought this desolating war upon the land, but there is no personal bitterness felt even against them. They may live, if they can bear to live after wantonly causing the death of so many thousand fellow-men; they may live in safe obscurity beneath the shelter of the government they have sought to overthrow, or they may fly to the protection of the governments of Europe—some of them are already there, seeking, happily in vain, to obtain the aid of foreign powers in furtherance of their own treason. There let them stay. The humblest dead soldier, that lies cold and stiff in his grave before us, is an object of envy beneath the clods that cover him, in comparison with the living man, who is willing to grovel at the foot of a foreign throne, for assistance in compassing the ruin of his country. But the hour is coming, and now is, when the power of the leaders of the rebellion to delude and inflame must cease. There is no bitterness on the part of the masses. The people of the South are not going to wage an eternal war, for the wretched pretexts by which this rebellion is sought to be justified. The bonds that unite us as one people, a substantial community of origin, language, belief and law (the four great ties that hold the societies of men together), common national and political interests; a common history; a common pride in a glorious ancestry; a common interest in this great heritage of blessings; the very geographical features of the country; the mighty rivers that cross the lines of climate and thus facilitate the interchange of natural and industrial products; while the wonder-working arm of the engineer has levelled the mountain walls which separate the East and West, compelling your own Alleghanies, my Maryland and Pennsylvania friends, to open wide their everlasting doors to the chariot wheels of traffic and travel; these bonds of union are of perennial force and energy, while the causes of alienation are imaginary, factitious, and transient. The heart of the people North and South is for the Union. Indications, too plain to be mistaken, announce the fact, both in the East and the West of the States in rebellion. In North Carolina and Arkansas the fatal charm at length is broken. At Raleigh and Little Rock the lips of honest and brave men are unsealed, and an independent press is unlimbering its artillery. The weary masses of the people are yearning to see the dear old flag floating again upon the capitols, and they sigh for the return of the peace, prosperity, and happiness which they enjoyed under a government whose power was felt only in its blessings. And now, friends, fellow-citizens of Gettysburg and Pennsylvania, and you from remoter States, let me again invoke your benediction, as we part, on these honored graves. You feel, though the occasion is mournful, that it is good to be here. You feel that it was greatly auspicious for the cause of the country that the men of the East and the men of the West, the men of nineteen sister States, stood side by side on the perilous ridges of the battle. You now feel it a new bond of union, that they shall lie side by side, till a clarion louder than that which marshaled them to the combat shall awake their slumbers. God bless the Union! It is dearer to us for the blood of those brave men shed in its defense. The spots on which they stood and fell; these pleasant heights; the fertile plain beneath them; the thriving village whose streets so lately rang with the strange din of war; the fields beyond the ridge, where the noble Reynolds held the advancing foe at bay, and while he gave up his own life, assured by his forethought and self-sacrifice the triumph of the two succeeding days; the little streams which wind through the hills, on whose banks in after times the wondering plowman will turn up, with the rude weapons of savage warfare, the fearful missiles of modern artillery; the Seminary ridge, the peach-orchard, Cemetery, Culp and Wolf Hill, Round Top, Little Round Top, humble names, henceforward dear and famous; no lapse of time, no distance of space, shall cause you to be forgotten. "The whole earth," said Pericles, as he stood over the remains of his fellow-citizens who had fallen in the first year of the Peloponesian war, "the whole earth is the sepulchre of illustrious men." All time, he might have added, is the millennium of their glory. Surely I would do no injustice to the other noble achievements of the war, which have reflected such honor on both arms of the service, and have entitled the armies and the navy of the United States, their officers and men, to the warmest thanks and the richest rewards which a grateful people can pay. But they, I am sure, will join us in saying, as we bid farewell to the dust of these martyr-heroes, that wheresoever throughout the civilized world the accounts of this great warfare are read, and down to the latest period of recorded time, in the glorious annals of our common country, there will be no brighter page than that which relates THE BATTLES OF GETTYSBURG.

[After the singing of an ode, the President of the United States made the following dedicatory address:]

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal (applause). Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting-place of those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men living and dead who struggled here have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract (applause). The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here (applause). It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on (applause). It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we hereby highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain (applause); that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom; and that governments of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth (long-continued applause).

Correspondence of The N. Y. Times.

After the dedication ceremonies were over, the President returned to the residence of Mr. Wills, whose guest he has been since he arrived here, and from thence walked to the church on Baltimore street, to listen to an oration by Lieut.-Gov. Anderson, of Ohio. He walked up to the church arm in arm with the famous Tom Burns, the only man in Gettysburg who had patriotism or pluck enough to take a gun on his shoulder and help the Union army defend his town.

Soon after the arrival of the President at Gettysburg, the evening before the dedication, he was serenaded by a Baltimore band, and after numerous calls for "the President," "Old Abe," "Uncle Abe," "Father Abraham," "the next President," etc., etc., was induced to make his appearance at the door. He said he was tired, and did not feel like speaking, and as a man who did not feel like talking was apt to say foolish things, he begged to be excused from making a speech. The audience cheered the sentiment, and the President, taking it for granted he was excused, retired to his room. The crowd then called on Secretary Seward, who was stopping near by with Mr. Harper, editor of a paper printed here, and were more successful. After two or three airs by the band, mingled in the calls for the Secretary, Mr. Seward made his appearance, and spoke as follows:

MR. SEWARD'S SPEECH.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: I am now sixty years old and upward; I have been in public life practically forty years of that time, and yet this is the first time that ever any people or community so near to the borders of Maryland was found willing to listen to my voice; and the reason was that I said forty years ago that slavery was opening before this people a grave-yard that was to be filled with brothers falling in mutual political combat. I knew that the cause that was hurrying the Union into this dreadful strife was slavery, and when I did elevate my voice it was to warn the people to remove that cause when they could by constitutional means, and so avert the catastrophe of civil war that now unhappily has fallen upon the nation deluging it in blood. That crisis came, and we see the result. I am thankful that you are willing to hear me at last. I thank my God that I believe this strife is going to end in the removal of that evil which ought to have been removed by peaceful means and deliberate councils (good). I thank my God for the hope that this is the last fratricidal war which will fall upon the country—a country vouchsafed by Heaven—the richest, the broadest, the most beautiful, most magnificent and capacious ever yet bestowed upon a people, that has ever been given to any part of the human race (applause). And I thank God for the hope that when that cause is removed, simply by the operation of abolishing it, as the origin of the great treason that is without justification and without parallel, we shall thenceforth be united, be only one country, having only one hope, one ambition, and one destiny (applause). Then we shall know that we are not enemies, but that we are friends and brothers, that this Union is a reality, and we shall mourn together for the evil wrought by this rebellion. We are now near the graves of the misguided, whom we have consigned to their last resting-place with pity for their errors, and with the same heartful of grief with which we mourn over the brother by whose hand, raised in defence of his government, that misguided brother perished. When we part to-morrow night, let us remember that we owe it to our country and to mankind that this war shall have for its conclusion the establishing of the principle of Democratic government—the simple principle that whatever party, whatever portion of the Union prevails by constitutional suffrage in an election, that party is to be respected and maintained in power until it shall give place, on another trial, and another verdict to a different portion of the people (good). If you do not do that, you are drifting at once and irresistibly to the very verge of the destruction of your government. But with that principle this government of ours—the freest, the best, the wisest and the happiest in the world—must be, and, so far as we are concerned, practically will be, immortal [applause].

A NORTHERN LADY AT THE SOUTH.

From The Elmira (N. Y.) Advertiser.

A FORMER well known resident of Elmira passed through here, a few days since, on her return from Richmond, whither she went last Spring, by flag of truce from Fortress Monroe, to visit some near relatives in the interior of the State of Virginia. She had opportunities of entering into some of the leading secession families of the Capitol and other parts of the State. For some time there was not much mistrust of her visit, but after awhile it began to be whispered around that she was a Northern spy, and, although her relatives were nearly connected with rebel families in the highest estate, and intimate with the family of President Davis, she was not exempted from a formal arrest, from which she was relieved by the good offices of a distinguished lawyer, who, for a good fat fee, defended her case successfully, and brought about her release, but at the loss of all her valuables and clothing. But after this, one of the secret spies was constantly on her track, noting every action and recording her conversation, and she learned she was to be arrested a second time, from a friend. Thinking she had better, quietly if possible, get out of rebeldom, she, with simply a bare suit of clothes, well worn at that, secretly, one night, took the cars to Richmond, which she reached in safety, but still found herself an object of espionage. She here applied to a tried Confederate official, who directed her, if possible, to get to Petersburg, and from there he would endeavor to get her safely into our lines with the exchanged Union prisoners being sent forward. Without exciting suspicion, she procured a pass from the Provost-Marshal to go to Petersburg, and getting into the company of some Sisters of Mercy, they reached that point without molestation.

She had the opportunity of visiting the various prisons where Union prisoners were confined; was all through the famous Libby Prison. Of the treatment of the majority of the Union prisoners, we have little conception. Aside from the masses of the vermin which cover their persons, they suffer the keenest pangs of starvation. She approached one youthful Union prisoner, who seemed in much suffering, and upon inquiring the cause of his pain, he replied "Hunger, madam!" In their exchanges of prisoners the rebels purposely select the poorest, weakest, and most emaciated of our men, who will not be apt to survive long, and in return for these receive back their men well fed, well clothed, and in sound health. She was in one of the Chancellorville rebel hospitals, located in a former seminary building. The sick and wounded were all carefully attended to, comfortably disposed on cots, the bedding being ample from the vast stores they had captured from our commissary trains and agents of the Sanitary Commission. The left of the building was stored with blankets, sheets and clothing thus captured. The rebel ladies were quite unceasing in their visitations to the hospitals. One day a beautiful young lady had procured a rare treat, and costly, too, in the way of a modicum of ice-cream, which she was dealing out to the rebel sick by the spoonful, going from cot to cot. Coming to a poor Union boy suffering from typhus fever, she tantalizingly approached his side, and holding a teaspoonful of the frozen delicacy, said, "Wouldn't you like some, you poor, good-for-nothing Yankee? Well, I guess it will do you good when you get it. I would choke you with it if I could," and so, for some minutes, the beautiful fiend stood and tormented the fever-parched youth. She reports that we have no idea of the terrible, demoralizing passions which now control Southern women, formerly delicately reared, modest, intelligent and highly educated. Profanity, cursing and denunciation are a common habit. Their influence goes far to nerve up the men to a constant fighting pitch, and no officer is tolerated away from his command unless sick or wounded. All others are shunned and even spit upon by the relentless Amazons. Of course there is little means to keep up the social appearances of society, still there are occasionally parties and weddings, but none of the usual delicacies are provided for these; ice-cream and cake, which was served at one wedding, was looked upon as a great rarity.

ONE WAY TO UNITE US.

THERE was a deal of truth expressed in a speech made at the Union meeting held at Little Rock, Arkansas, on the 31st ult. It was spoken by a Mr. Fishbach, an old gentleman of some local distinction, who was a member of the convention which voted Arkansas out of the Union in 1861, and whose opposition to the fatal measure of secession caused him to be driven from the State. His argument—or rather, plain and homely talk to his fellow-citizens—rested upon this ground, that the South was wholly ignorant of the condition and sentiment of the North, and that if it had not been it could never have committed so suicidal an act of secession.

Mr. Fishbach said:

"A native of Virginia and an old resident of this State, I have been one of you. The same direction has been given to my prejudices. I was taught to believe, and did believe, that everything manufactured in New England was made to cheat with; that the religion of the people was hypocrisy; that their touch was contamination. Fellow-citizens, I have seen New England and its people. I have been welcomed at the houses of the rich—an exile, without a decent coat to my back, or money in my pocket. I have always met the warmest Southern hospitality at the houses of their middle classes; and, my fellow-citizens, in one sense of the word, they have no poor. I have walked with awe and a condemning conscience through the school-houses found at every corner of a cross-road. I saw her barren hills covered with plenty; I saw her sturdy sons—every one of them an educated man—hasten to shoulder their muskets and place themselves in the ranks of the defenders of their country; and I heard them make excuses for the South, much in the spirit that a kind elder brother would for his wild younger brother; and I discovered, as you have, that they are not cowards. And, fellow-citizens, New England is a representative of the North."

He concluded by saying there was "no power on earth or below it that could destroy this government; for twenty million people like those of New England have declared: This Union must and shall be preserved."

Now, it seems to us that this is much nearer the truth, and likely to do more good, than the foul abuse which Seymour, Cox and Brooks are in the habit of pouring upon New England. An old writer asserts that no man thoroughly hates another after he has once seen him, which is an exaggeration of the truth that we are more apt to like those we know than those we don't know. The same remark applies to the different parts of our country. The more they shall come to understand each other the more they will like each other; and when that monster of slavery which has divided us has been destroyed, we shall coalesce with a deeper fraternal feeling than we have ever before manifested.—*Eve. Post.*

*THE ANTI-SLAVERY STRUGGLE IN AMERICA.**

From The London Star.

THIS valuable contribution to the anti-slavery literature of Great Britain comes before us at a time when information of the special kind which it is designed to afford is particularly welcome. All such as have had their hitherto dormant interest in the anti-slavery struggle in America awakened by the momentous strife now waging on that continent, of which slavery is the exciting cause, must naturally desire to learn something of the early history of that great movement; while the more select few who have been in the habit of watching the progress of the moral contest which in 1860 led to the triumph of a Free-Soil candidate for the Presidential chair will be glad to possess, in a condensed and collected form, facts which have been scattered through multitudes of pamphlets, reports, and newspapers. Miss Wigham's interesting work aims in the first instance to present, as completely as may be done within the compass of one small volume, a succinct narrative of the anti-slavery agitation in the United States from its earliest commencement down to the point at which the election of a President pledged to the non-extension of slavery, and the rebellion of the Southern States consequent thereupon, put an altogether new face upon the question; and in the second place to commemorate the heroic endurance of those men and women whose self-sacrificing efforts on behalf of what was for many years at once a losing and a perilous cause, entitle them to be remembered as its martyrs. The history opens with a brief mention of the labors of Anthony Benezet and his co-workers, through whose instrumentality all slaves held by Quakers in Pennsylvania were emancipted in 1774—an example which gradually led to the renunciation in 1787 of the so-called right of property in man by the entire Society of Friends. From thence, after explaining the terrible impetus which was given to the slave system by the invention of the cotton gin and the rapid extension of the American trade in cotton, Miss Wigham passes to the career of William Lloyd Garrison, whom she aptly styles the pioneer of the fresh and undying crusade against that fathomless iniquity. It was about the year 1828 that Garrison, then a young man of twenty-three, first began to entertain opinions that could not be kept silent on the subject of negro slavery; on New-year's day, 1831, that he, in conjunction with a friend named Isaac Knapp, like himself a printer by trade, issued the first number of the paper called *The Liberator;* and it was just a year later that the American Anti-Slavery Society, consisting of about a dozen members, was formed. This was the "martyr-age" of the anti-slavery movement in the Northern States. Garrison was confined in prison to save him from the fury of a "respectable" mob. George Thompson, after more than a year of personal danger, was compelled to fly from the country. Miss Prudence Crandall, who received colored children as inmates of her school, was driven into retirement by violent persecution. Lydia Maria Child, known in this country as the authoress of the "Girl's Own Book," lost all her popularity through the publication of her "Appeal on Behalf of that Class of Americans called Africans." In Philadelphia, in 1834, forty-four houses and two churches belonging to people of color were attacked and for the most part destroyed; and on Independence Day of the same year the dwelling of Mr. Lewis Tappan, a gentleman residing in New York, was sacked and his furniture burnt in the street. In 1834 also a body of young men withdrew from Lane Seminary, in Cincinnati, because the faculty forbade any discussion of the slavery question during the leisure hours of the students, and by dint of unshrinking toil and indomitable energy they formed the nucleus of what has long been known as the Collegiate Institution of Oberlin. The history of this enterprise is one of the most touching episodes in a movement abounding in tales of unselfish devotion to a great principle; and Miss Wigham's quiet but thoroughly feeling mode of treating the subject inspires one of the most absorbing chapters in her interesting book. In 1838 a multitude of rioters set fire to the Pennsylvania Hall, in Philadelphia, where a convention of women had been assembled, burned the building with its books and furniture, and next fired the Colored Orphan Asylum in the same city; but these outrages upon persons and property fall into comparative insignificance before the murder of the Rev. Elijah Lovejoy for conducting an anti-slavery paper in the free State of Illinois. This atrocious deed, which was consummated in 1837, awoke horror in even some of the slave States, and was the cause of an indignation meeting in Boston, at which Mr. Wendell Phillips, now known as the first orator in the United States, first spoke on behalf of a race to which he has since given the best services of his great intellect and unsurpassed eloquence.

Such are a few of the incidents chronicled in the history of the earlier struggles of the anti-slavery party in America. The notorious Fugitive Slave Bill of 1850 brought forth more martyr cases, consisting of signal vengeance inflicted upon the transgressors against that Draconian statute; but which, like the assassination of Lovejoy, served as a sure means of awakening the heart and conscience of the Northern people. Miss Wigham has from the abundant materials before her gathered such facts as best serve to show at once what slavery could inflict upon those who were, though indirectly, the victims of its oppression; what men and women, strong in a determination to do justly and fear not, could endure for the sake of the standard they had lifted up; and how every fresh wrong perpetrated by the Slave Power served to raise a new feeling of antagonism in some honest minds, and to supply fresh capital to the stock of arguments which the Anti-Slavery Society was ever pouring out with constantly increasing results. We cannot follow the authoress in her remarks upon the various important stages in the history of the cause of Emancipation between 1850 and the election of President Lincoln in 1860; but will recommend those who have been troubled by confused arguments and conflicting statements upon the causes of the Southern rebellion to read her very simple and concise account of the matter, together with her clear explanation of the precise state of the slave's cause at the present moment. We can assure them that no more instructive or genuinely useful pages have been penned in relation to that phase of the stupendous struggle. The only thing to be regretted about the work is that the authoress did not give herself more room and so make the book more complete than one of less than two hundred pages can possibly be; but as a small book has undoubtedly some advantages over a large one (not the least important of which is that it finds many more readers), we are not sure that its moderate size has not rather increased than lessened the practical value of a most timely and conscientious tribute to the cause of freedom, and to the brave advocates who have given their lives to help a race who, until very recently, were deprived of all power to lift hand or voice for themselves.

* "The Anti-Slavery Cause in America, and Its Martyrs," by ELIZA WIGHAM. London: A. W. Bennett, 5, Bishopsgate Without.

NEGRO INCIDENTS.

[From "Incidents of Hospital Life," in *The Evening Post.*]

SPEAKING of negroes reminds me of some very funny scenes witnessed from my window. Every day long freight-trains brought in cotton, etc., from Tuscumbia, Ala., and other places along the line. I have seen them two hundred yards in length, piled up with miscellanous articles, while crowning them were old beds tied in sheets, and all sorts of bundles, through which little negroes swarmed like bees. Look where you would a little black face and woolly head peeped out, while shining black eyes flashed and twinkled in innocent wonder upon all sides.

Yet it was a pitiful sight, too, these poor half-starved, half-clothed creatures. To see them swarming over the place, sleeping upon the ground, and voraciously eating the rations dealt out to them by government officials, was enough to bring tears to the eyes of the hardest. Poor, ignorant, helpless creatures, with no home, and a dark future before them!

People have often laughingly wondered if "Topsy" was not a creature of Mrs. Stowe's prolific fancy. Could they have enjoyed a brief season in Corinth I think they would scarcely have questioned the truthfulness of the character. Topsies might be found here by the hundred.

I had one in my room, a bright, quiet little creature, with a tiny round face as black as the ace of spades. I dressed her up and kept her about to do little errands for me, while the chambermaids in the house found her as much a source of amusement as usefulness. She would dance, sing and act quite as comically as Topsy ever did.

I had to laugh heartily one day at the doleful face of one of the clerks, as he came into my room, his hands covered with blood.

"Please give me a bandage for this, Mrs. S——," he said, laughingly, his tones at the same time full of vexation. "That Nell is a perfect little imp! See what she has done to me!"

"How? Why, your hand looks full of little pricks as if from teeth."

"Pins, you mean! I declare, its too rich! She's a little smart one, you may rest assured. It happened this way: We boys love to teaze her, and often got her into the store down stairs to hear her make droll remarks. I got into the habit of tapping her upon the head, pretending to be vexed, just to see her roll up her eyes at me in her comically-deprecating way. Her wool is thick, and I guess I tapped her pretty hard sometimes, relying upon its softness to protect her. Well, the little imp, what does she do but stick about forty pins along under the hair, through the edge of the turban, the points out. They formed a circle around her droll head, and just now I tapped her on the side of the head, so hard as to get a dozen right through my hand. The smart vexed me, and I tapped the other side, then the top—you see the result."

By this time I had finished binding up the lacerated hand, and indulged in a convulsive burst of merriment at his expense. He went away laughing, and a few moments later, when Nell came in, I examined her head, finding at the least half an ounce of pins deposited in the curly locks crimped up tightly over her head.

She stood demurely with her hands folded, during the examination, and in answer to my question as to why she did it, said gravely:

"Why, miss, he was allus a spattin' o' me."

SPEECH OF THE EMPEROR OF FRANCE.

From The London Dial.

SINCE that famous first of January speech, in which the Emperor Napoleon prepared the public mind of Europe for the war which a few months later he waged against Austria, professedly in the interest of Italian independence, the nations of Europe have waited with anxiety and impatience for any anticipated utterances of his upon the affairs of the world. At the present moment especially they are anxious to know something more of his policy than is conveyed in pamphlets and newspaper articles, the authority of which is dubious and might, if inconvenient, be easily repudiated. At last the oracle has spoken, the occasion being the opening of the French Chambers. The Emperor's speech is an oration. Usually, speeches from the throne are tame and spiritless—alike contemptible in style and uninteresting in matter. But Napoleon III. understands the art of language better, and his aim therefore is to speak with an air of apparent frankness, to communicate with all amplitude and fullness what he desires to disclose, and to make his deliverances with an eye to dramatic effect. All this is peculiarly true of the address which he delivered to the French Chambers on Thursday last. He sums up the results of his domestic policy during the past year with masterly conciseness and skill. He presents a glowing and, we rejoice to say, on the whole, a truthful picture of the progress which France is making in commerce, in agriculture, in just colonial government, and in education. This much he can say, and with truth, of the home policy of France. But what of foreign affairs? His chief, if not only ground of justification for the costly and sanguinary expeditions which he has dispatched to Cochin-China and to Mexico, appears to be that they were necessary to the maintenance of French influence, and that the development of foreign commerce is dependent upon an extension of territory. A grievous fallacy this, but as it is one upon which England has largely acted it is scarcely in our power to cast the first stone at the Imperial annexationist. But we apprehend that, despite all his efforts to persuade the French nation that he has studied their interests in those expeditions, he will have as much difficulty in convincing the more thoughtful and conscientious of his subjects of the special interest they have in the wars he says he has waged on their behalf in both the East and the West, as the British government will have in satisfying similar classes in this country that the bombardment of Kagosima was essential to the honor or commercial prosperity of England. What interpretation are we to put upon the Emperor's total silence with regard to the war in the United States? This is certainly a subject upon which he might have been expected to speak in weighty phrases. The Confederates especially must have been anxious to discover in his speech some gleam of hope for their failing cause. They cling so tenaciously to the idea of French intervention that they have almost begun to regard it as a *fait accompli*. The Emperor's silence may certainly have more meanings than one. It may mean simply that upon this question he does not intend at present to show what cards he intends to play; but it is much more natural to infer from it that, having already enough on his hands in Mexico, he does not intend to run the risk of burning his fingers by any further intermeddling with American affairs. With regard to Poland, to which country he devotes by far the most important portions of his speech, he adopts a tone at once generous and lofty. When he speaks of that unhappy land as "the heir of a right inscribed in history and in treaties," he confers upon Poland the dignity which is her just due. It is as the friend of Polish liberty that he claims the support of his people and the sympathy of Europe. He scouts the alternative of war or of silence. There is, he declares, one means left by which the salvation of Poland may be effected. Russia has declined the proposal of a Congress to settle the Polish difficulty, but, as the treaties of 1815 "have ceased to exist," there are other questions which agitate Europe and equally with Poland press for a settlement. He therefore proposes that all these questions, including the Polish one, shall be submitted to the arbitrament of a general Congress; and he wisely says that if they are settled the time will have arrived when the statesmen of every country may bury the rancors and enmities of the past, reduce "the exaggerated armaments" which now menance the peace of the world, and devote themselves to the great interests of civilization. If this course be pursued Europe will enter on a path of peace and safety. If not, then he plainly intimates the alternative will be war. There is no mistaking his meaning, and least of all will Russia mistake it. He is prepared to unsheath the sword if she remains obdurate. St. Petersburg must decide the question—war or peace. If she decides for the latter we shall breathe more freely than we have done for years past